ATTORNEYGATE: THE EDITORS

The Nation.

MISOGYNY CHIC
Lakshmi Chaudhry

'RACE WAR' IN LA
Roberto Lovato

OUR MAN AT THE UN
Perry Anderson

SHADOW ARMY

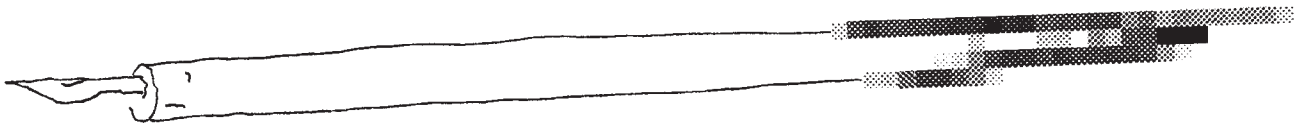
HOW BLACKWATER BECAME PART OF BUSH'S WAR MACHINE

JEREMY SCAHILL

APRIL 2, 2007
www.thenation.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS



R.O. BLECHMAN

IS THE DEATH PENALTY MORAL?

San Diego

■ Ever since I participated in a debate on the death penalty in high school, in 1963, I have opposed it for all the reasons articulated by Sunil Dutta in "Kill the Death Penalty" [Feb. 26]. I appreciated his juxtaposing total homicides—and the appallingly high rate of unsolved homicides—with the number of executions, showing the arbitrary nature of the imposition of the death penalty. PETER MCKIMMIN

Franklin, Mass.

■ Death penalty opponents should focus on what it does to the soul of the nation that engages in the death penalty. Isn't it a mark of our failure that we even engage in such a barbaric practice? Isn't the most powerful democracy in the history of the world simply better than this? CHRISTOPHER JEAN

Palos Verdes Estates, Calif.

■ Sunil Dutta states that the most moral and legal argument against capital punishment is that it leads to execution of the innocent. The simple answer to that is that only indisputably guilty criminals should be given capital sentences. No person of questionable guilt should be executed. In a just and humane society, the death penalty should be carried out as comfortably as possible with no animosity or emotion other than sorrow that the enormity of the criminality made it necessary.

Dutta's arguments against capital punishment are primarily criticisms of an error-prone judicial system. But they have nothing to do with capital punishment. It can stand on its own merits. Going to medically induced sleep is far less barbaric than spending the remaining years of life in a cramped prison cell. It is only fair that capital punishment should get a hearing on its own merits. WILLIAM N. MCNAIRN

Buffalo Grove, Ill.

■ For me, the most compelling arguments against the death penalty include a discussion of the history of punishment. Just a few hundred years ago punishments were unimaginably cruel and very public. As human society continues to evolve, I hope we will see crime for the social illness that it is and treat it as we should be treating drug addiction. JOHN WALKER

■ Life in prison without parole is not, as Sunil Dutta argues, "an effective alternative," and it is not "moral." Life without parole is not moral because it strips those sentenced to that fate of all hope and greatly reduces the chances that public interest lawyers will take the cases of those who maintain their innocence. Judges also do not give the cases the same care on postconviction appeals, because they need not worry about upholding a death sentence. And many corrections officers detest the sentence, because it takes away the carrot of possible freedom for good behavior and reduces the stick of additional punishment. Nor does life without parole reduce murder rates. It insures that murderers remain incarcerated long after they could hurt society again—at great expense to the public. Life sentences with the possibility of parole after long years in prison are far more effective and far more humane to both the convicted and those who guard them. Yes, life without parole makes it easier for jurors to oppose death. But maximum security prisons are often hellholes. Progressives should oppose both the death penalty and life without parole. Neither killing nor throwing away the key is the answer, especially when we know that at least some of those sentenced are innocent. LEWIS M. STEEL

DUTTA REPLIES

Los Angeles

■ Christopher Jean is correct to point out the dehumanizing nature of the death penalty. I also agree with John Walker that as we continue to evolve as a society, the nature of punishment changes too. Unfortunately, when it comes to the death penalty, we are far behind and far less civilized than other industrialized nations. Regarding executing indisputably guilty criminals—when William McNairn finds a just system devised by humans, I will gladly reconsider my views. Even under a (hypothetically) perfectly just criminal-justice system, I would have difficulty supporting the death penalty, because once a criminal is in custody, using violence against him simply perpetuates the vicious cycle of revenge, in which there are no winners.

Lewis Steel believes life in prison without parole is neither moral nor effective. He is wrong. Yes, there are practical difficulties in keeping criminals in prison until they die, and those must be addressed. However, this alternative is definitely more moral than executing the murderer. Steel states that life without parole doesn't reduce the murder rate—the death penalty doesn't either. Prosecution costs for capital cases are enormous, and life imprisonment turns out to be cheaper than executions. Maximum security prisons may be hellholes, but that is another topic. I do not agree that murderers should ever be paroled. Their victims never get a second chance, and their victims' families can never forget the pain or overcome the loss. My sympathy lies with the victims. SUNIL DUTTA

letters@thenation.com

OUR WAR ON IMMIGRANTS

Canterbury, Conn.

■ Re "Lockdown in Greeley, How Immigration Raids Terrorized a Colorado Town" by Marc Cooper [Feb. 26]. Why is *The Nation* so intent on jamming Latino illegal aliens down the throats of their readers and ignoring the other side of the story? I don't know anyone who is not in favor of sending these people back home and cracking down on corporate America for hiring them. They are costing taxpayers a fortune while enriching corporate America, and they are changing the fabric of American culture. America is importing poverty, something we have plenty of already, since the Republicans and corporations have been running the country. Immigration needs to be controlled, and we need a balance of people coming in from different countries. There are too many Hispanics and Latinos in the country, and they shouldn't be rewarded for breaking the law. JEANNE PICARD

Murrieta, Calif.

■ ICE's Gestapo tactics in Greeley are reprehensible. However, they project an image, a grotesque image, south of the border, which may deter some people considering illegal entry into the United States. JOHN STICKLER

Brooklyn, NY

■ "There's no information, no accountability," says Sylvia Martinez, quoted by Marc Cooper. Is there a better short definition of the end of democracy? First they did these things overseas; now they do them domestically to noncitizens; finally they will do them to the rest of us. MATTHEW WILLS

Columbus, Ohio

■ Undocumented workers are lowering wages for the working class in the United States and stunting needed reforms in Mexico. Meatpacking jobs used to pay solidly middle-class wages. Tolerating a flood of mostly cheap laborers is a betrayal of the working class. Liberals should put the focus on who is benefiting from the northern migration, which has created a large pool of low-wage laborers whose members don't have the right to vote. US corporations, the US ownership class and the ruling elite in Mexico are the clear winners. Liberals should remind others that George W. Bush flooded the Gulf Coast with undocumented workers after Hurricane Katrina by suspending prevailing-wage laws. And liberals should work to abolish what amounts to a class of indentured servants by supporting citizenship rights for undocumented workers and addressing why so many people are

(Continued on Page 24)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Printed March 14 Volume 284, Number 13

IN THIS ISSUE

2 **LETTERS**

EDITORIALS & COMMENT

3 THE DECEMBER 7 MASSACRE

4 CONGRESS, END THE WAR

5 SOFT-CORE SEXISM
Lakshmi Chaudhry

6 ANTIWAR STUDENTS RISING
Sam Graham-Felsen

7 KING OF CALYPSO
Walter Mosley

8 SWORDS INTO PLOWSHARES
Jason Mark

COLUMNS

6 DEADLINE POET
"Additional Troop Increase Approved"
Calvin Trillin

9 BEAT THE DEVIL
Here Comes Another "Crime Wave"
Alexander Cockburn

10 SUBJECT TO DEBATE
Europeans Do It Better
Katha Pollitt

ARTICLES

11 BUSH'S SHADOW ARMY
How Blackwater became part of Bush's war machine.
Jeremy Scahill

20 THE SMOG OF RACE WAR IN LA
The murder of a 14-year-old sparks accusations of "ethnic cleansing."
Roberto Lovato

BOOKS & THE ARTS

25 TRAUB: The Best Intentions: Kofi Annan and the UN in the Era of American World Power
MEISLER: Kofi Annan: A Man of Peace in a World of War
Perry Anderson

30 NASAW: Andrew Carnegie
CANNADINE: Mellon: An American Life
Steve Fraser

Cover design by Gene Case & Stephen Kling/Avenging Angels; illustrations by R.O. Blechman and Caitlin Dover

EDITORIALS

The December 7 Massacre

In the earliest months of the Bush Administration, then–Attorney General John Ashcroft began routinely overruling federal prosecutors' sentencing recommendations, forcing on US Attorneys unprecedented numbers of death sentences. From that moment it should have been clear that this White House views these attorneys not as law-enforcement professionals but as the partisan muscle for its entwined political and policy ambitions.

Now, after the abrupt firing in December of eight US Attorneys, it stands revealed that officials at the highest levels of the Republican Party and the White House have routinely sought to strong-arm prosecutors in the most politically sensitive law-enforcement matters. In Seattle US Attorney John McKay lost his job after rebuffing a thoroughly improper request by Representative Doc Hastings, former chair of the House Ethics Committee (!), to intervene in Washington's gubernatorial recount. In New Mexico US Attorney David Iglesias lost his job for refusing to speed up investigations of Democrats in time for the fall elections. Karl Rove, it turns out, routinely acted as the GOP's messenger, conveying to the Justice Department the displeasure of political operatives with individual US Attorneys. And the President himself, according to press reports confirmed by the White House, explicitly sought the removal of US Attorneys deemed insufficiently enthusiastic about pursuing vote-fraud cases against Democrats.

The stakes in the Gonzales Eight scandal are far more profound than the hiring and firing of a few prosecutors. It is by now a shopworn cliché of the Bush Administration to say that the Constitution itself is at stake. But what other assessment is possible? Each of the Gonzales Eight—to a person, competent and admired prosecutors—lost a job because the President, Rove and other GOP bosses sought to warp fundamental American institutions, including elections, criminal investigations and sentencing, for political gain. That is the very essence of corruption.

Do US Attorneys in every Administration serve at the pleasure of the President? Of course. The appointment of federal prosecutors is part of the spoils system as surely as the nomination of federal judges. But as with judges, the rule of law depends on US Attorneys, whatever their political background, acting with independence and professionalism. Most Presidents, even the most partisan and corrupt, have understood that. In any event, these firings had nothing to do with law enforcement or competence.

Outrage over the scandal is bipartisan—and, one hopes, will bring ethical sanctions down on certain GOP Congress members, including Hastings. But it must be noted that it took Democratic subpoenas to expose Gonzales as a liar for saying that politics had nothing to do with the firings. Now the Attorney General has been forced to fold his cards in the long-simmering controversy over Congressional review of interim US Attorney appointments, and his chief of staff, Kyle Sampson, has resigned.

Democrats who have been reluctant to pursue investigations of torture, the Iraq War and Hurricane Katrina should take two lessons. First, all are aspects of the same scandal: a White House determined to establish extralegal authority both abroad and at home. Second, hearings and subpoenas not only get out the facts but force the Administration to back down. In this case, at least, Congressional Democrats have begun—but only begun—to find their collective voice as a check on Bush's executive power-grab.

The case of the Gonzales Eight makes it vividly clear that this Justice Department isn't only covering up illegality in the Nixon mode. From the President on down, the Administration sees no legal limits to presidential power, whether in a US Attorney's office in Phoenix or an interrogation room in Guantánamo. In such an environment, with such permission from the Oval Office itself, the Justice Department is the locus, the engine, the pumping heart of scandal. That is why Senator Chuck Schumer was right to call for the resignation of Attorney General Gonzales. But that is also why Gonzales's resignation, if it happens, will not be enough.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Nation.

EDITOR & PUBLISHER: Katrina vanden Heuvel

PRESIDENT: Teresa Stack

MANAGING EDITOR: Karen Rothmyer
LITERARY EDITOR: Adam Shatz
EXECUTIVE EDITOR: Betsy Reed
SENIOR EDITORS: Richard Lingeman (*on leave*), Roane Carey, Esther Kaplan
WEB EDITOR: Joan Connell
COPY EDITOR: Judith Long
ASSISTANT COPY EDITOR: Mark Sorkin
COPY ASSOCIATE: Lisa Vandepaer
ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR: Peggy Suttle
ASSISTANT LITERARY EDITOR: Christine Smallwood
INTERNS: Molly Bennet, Michelle Chandra, Stephanie Condon (*Washington*), Michael Corcoran, Emily Douglas, Wes Enzinna, Rob Fischer, Elizabeth Schuster, Rebecca Tinkelman

WASHINGTON, DC: EDITOR: David Corn; CORRESPONDENT: John Nichols

NATIONAL AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT: William Greider

COLUMNISTS: Eric Alterman, Alexander Cockburn, Naomi Klein, Katha Pollitt, Patricia J. Williams, Gary Younge

DEPARTMENTS: *Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Art*, Arthur C. Danto; *Corporations*, Robert Sherrill; *Defense*, Michael T. Klare; *Environment*, Mark Hertsgaard; *Films*, Stuart Klawans; *Legal Affairs,* David Cole; *Peace and Disarmament*, Jonathan Schell; *Poetry*, John Palattella; *United Nations*, Ian Williams; *Deadline Poet*, Calvin Trillin

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Kai Bird, Robert L. Borosage, Stephen F. Cohen, Marc Cooper, Mike Davis, Slavenka Drakulić, Robert Dreyfuss, Susan Faludi, Liza Featherstone, Thomas Ferguson, Doug Henwood, Max Holland, John Leonard, Michael Moore, Richard Pollak, Joel Rogers, Kirkpatrick Sale, Robert Scheer, Herman Schwartz, Bruce Shapiro, Ted Solotaroff, Edward Sorel, Gore Vidal, Jon Wiener, Amy Wilentz, Art Winslow

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS: Ari Berman (*Washington*), Lakshmi Chaudhry, Christopher Hayes, Bob Moser, Eyal Press, Scott Sherman

BUREAUS: *London*, Maria Margaronis and D.D. Guttenplan; *Southern Africa*, Mark Gevisser

EDITORIAL BOARD: Deepak Bhargava, Norman Birnbaum, Barbara Ehrenreich, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Eric Foner, Philip Green, Lani Guinier, Tom Hayden, Randall Kennedy, Tony Kushner, Elinor Langer, Deborah W. Meier, Toni Morrison, Victor Navasky, Pedro Antonio Noguera, Richard Parker, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, Andrea Batista Schlesinger, David Weir, Roger Wilkins

ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, SPECIAL PROJECTS/WEBSITE: Peter Rothberg
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, DEVELOPMENT/ASSOCIATES: Peggy Randall
VICE PRESIDENT, ADVERTISING: Ellen Bollinger
ADVERTISING MANAGER, SMALL DISPLAY, EVENTS, CLASSIFIED: Leigh Novog
VICE PRESIDENT, CIRCULATION: Arthur Stupar
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Michelle O'Keefe
CIRCULATION FULFILLMENT MANAGER: Miriam Camp
PRODUCTION DIRECTOR: Omar Rubio
TYPOGRAPHER/WEB PRODUCER: Sandy McCroskey
PRODUCTION MANAGER: Timothy Don
NATION ASSOCIATES MANAGER: Peter Fifield
EDUCATION/COMMUNICATIONS COORDINATOR: Habiba Alcindor
VICE PRESIDENT, WEB SITE AND TECHNOLOGY: Scott Klein
TECHNOLOGY COORDINATOR: Amiri K. Barksdale
WEB PRODUCER: Jason Das
CONTROLLER: Mary van Valkenburg
ASSISTANT TO VICTOR NAVASKY: Mary Taylor Schilling
DATA ENTRY/MAIL COORDINATOR: John Holtz
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT: Kathleen Thomas
BUSINESS ASSISTANT: Joliange Wright
RECEPTIONIST/BUSINESS ASSISTANT: Elizabeth Berniak
CLERK: Shavonne Frazier

PUBLISHER EMERITUS: Victor Navasky

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR: E-mail to letters@thenation.com (300-word limit). Letters are subject to editing for reasons of space and clarity.
SUBMISSIONS: Queries only, no manuscripts. Go to www.thenation.com and click on "about," then "submissions" for a query form. Queries may be mailed to The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. SASE for poems.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the second week in January, and biweekly the third week of July through the second week of September) by The Nation Company, L.P. © 2007 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, L.P., 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. (212) 209-5400. Washington Bureau: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149, or call 1-800-333-8536. Publications Mail Agreement No: 40041477. Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to Circulation Dept. or DPGM, 4960-2 Walker Road, Windsor, ON N9A 6J3. **When ordering a subscription, please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions**. Basic annual subscription price: $52 for 47 issues. Back issues $4 prepaid ($6 foreign) from: The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Member, Audit Bureau of Circulations. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149. Printed in U.S.A. on recycled paper.

www.thenation.com

Congress, End the War

"War is over, if you want it," declared John Lennon in the thick of the Vietnam nightmare. To the extent that Lennon's "you" referred to the US Congress, he was right, then and now. The House and Senate have the authority to end the war in Iraq quickly, efficiently and honorably. Claims to the contrary by George W. Bush and his apologists are at odds with every intention of the authors of the Constitution. Which part of "Congress shall have the power to declare war… to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces…to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers" does the White House fail to understand? Unfortunately, it may be the same part that cautious Congressional leaders have trouble comprehending.

Democrats gained control of Congress in November with the charge to bring the occupation to a swift conclusion. Yet, as we mark the fourth anniversary of the war, the story of the 110th Congress still seems to be one of an opposition party struggling to come to grips with its authority to upend a President's misguided policies. Nothing has illustrated the lack of direction so agonizingly as the debates over nonbinding resolutions opposing the troop surge; weeks went into advancing measures that, as their names confirmed, were inconsequential. For a time, it seemed as if House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, who has been so effective on the domestic front, was ceding any real leadership role on foreign policy.

With the announcement of spending legislation that includes benchmarks for progress in Iraq, and a plan to begin withdrawing troops if those benchmarks are unmet, Pelosi has begun to define a Democratic opposition to Bush's policies. But she has not gone nearly far enough. While Democratic leaders are finally arguing for a withdrawal timeline, it is not the right one. Theoretically, the plan would create the potential for withdrawal of some troops in six months. Realistically, because it lacks adequate monitoring mechanisms—Pelosi says determinations about the benchmarks would be a "subjective call"—the best bet is that even if the Democratic plan were to overcome all the hurdles blocking its enactment, there would be no withdrawals for more than a year.

Forcing Americans and Iraqis to die for Bush's delusions for another year while emptying the Treasury at a rate of more than $1 billion a week is unconscionable. That is why House members who have battled hardest to end the war are so frustrated with Pelosi's approach. "This plan would require us to believe whatever the President would tell us about progress that was being made," says Representative Maxine Waters, speaking for the bipartisan Out of Iraq Caucus. Congressional Progressive Caucus co-chair Lynn Woolsey has been blunter, saying of the legislation, "There's no enforcement mechanism."

Waters and Woolsey are right. While we respect efforts by antiwar Democrats like Jim McDermott and Jerrold Nadler to negotiate with Pelosi in hopes of improving the legislation, conservative Blue Dog Democrats have already signaled that the price of their support will be the removal of any teeth put into the plan

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EDITORIALS

by progressives. Worse, they have tampered with the legislation in ways that may even encourage Bush's interventionist tendencies: The Democratic proposal for a timeline originally included a provision that would have required Bush to seek Congressional approval before using military force against Iran. But under pressure from conservative members of her caucus and lobbyists from the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, Pelosi removed the language. By first including the provision and then removing it, Pelosi and her aides have given Bush an opening to claim that he does not require Congressional approval for a wider war.

The haggling over compromises points up the flaw in Pelosi's approach: It is too soft, too slow, too open to lobbying mischief and abuse by a President who has done nothing but abuse Congress for six years. America and the world are not crying out for a timeline that might begin extracting troops from Iraq a year from now. Almost 200 American soldiers, and thousands of Iraqis, have died since the Democrats took control of Congress. To accept that the war will go on for another year, at the least, is to accept that the death toll will continue to mount.

Democrats should recognize that the time has come to use the full power accorded Congress in time of war: the power of the purse. As Senator Russ Feingold says, "Some will claim that cutting off funding for the war would endanger our brave troops on the ground. Not true. The safety of our servicemen and -women in Iraq is paramount, and we can and should end funding for the war without putting our troops in further danger."

Instead of negotiating with Bush to give him another year of his war before facing consequences, Democrats should refuse to write another blank check. They should instead support Representative Barbara Lee's proposal to fully fund the withdrawal of US soldiers and military contractors from Iraq. Lee would give military commanders the resources they need to withdraw all troops by the end of the year by mandating that emergency supplemental funding be used only for that purpose.

There may not be enough Democratic and renegade Republican votes to win House passage of Lee's legislation—at least not initially. But tremendous educational and practical progress can be made by just saying no, as loudly as possible, to a President who has not gotten enough resistance from Congress. Setting up a conflict between Bush's desire to keep troops in Iraq through the end of his presidency and a plan to bring them home this year sharpens the debate at a time when the latest *Washington Post*–ABC News poll shows that a majority of Americans now favor setting a clear deadline. Even as Bush blusters on about staying the course—or whatever the slogan of the moment may be—he is feeling the pressure to end this war. Indeed, he has already split with Vice President Cheney and other Administration hardliners on the issue of engaging diplomatically with Iran and Syria.

No matter what the ultimate exit strategy, engaging in regional diplomacy to help contain the civil war in Iraq and provide more international assistance to the Iraqi people is an essential step in repositioning the United States to be a constructive force in the region, as opposed to serving as a catalyst for a wider sectarian war. The Bush Administration's dawning recognition of this fact will be heightened and extended only if war foes maintain their resolve. If the debate in Congress is about whether to attach a few soft benchmarks to Bush's request for more money to maintain the occupation on his terms, he will feel little sense of urgency. But if the debate is about whether to provide only the money needed to bring the troops home, Bush will understand that time is running out for his strategy—and that he can no longer afford to casually dismiss diplomacy and the logic of withdrawal.

COMMENT

Soft-Core Sexism

There's nothing a good rehab program can't cure. Mel Gibson promptly checked himself into the nearest treatment center for his racism; San Francisco mayor Gavin Newsom for adultery; and, most recently, Britney Spears for her peculiar aversion to underwear.

So what could be more timely than director Craig Brewer's latest flick, *Black Snake Moan*, which offers up another such redemption narrative, albeit with a Southern twist: Good-hearted black backwoodsman Lazarus (Samuel L. Jackson) cures white-trash "nymphomaniac" Rae (Christina Ricci) of her sex-addiction in small-town Tennessee. Except where Britney is busy atoning for her untrammeled sexual behavior in upscale Malibu, Rae isn't quite as lucky. In this mythical South there is only one surefire cure for a white girl gone wild: chaining her to a radiator in her panties and letting the camera linger salaciously on every inch as she writhes and moans in sexual heat.

The movie's misogyny is hardly surprising from a director known for promoting the dubious proposition, in *Hustle & Flow*, that "it's hard out here for a pimp." But what passed for mere indifference to women in that movie is revealed to be an unmistakable lack of compassion in *Black Snake Moan*. Rae is a victim of childhood abuse who channels her pain through a raging appetite for sex with strangers, which finally gets her beaten, raped and left for dead on the side of the road. In Brewer's world, however, it is Rae who needs to be "cured" and not the men who heedlessly use her for sex, with or without her consent. So along comes Lazarus to help her "collar that dawg," which is her libido.

The icing on this particular cake is a PR campaign featuring a barely clad Ricci wrapped in an enormous chain or, alternatively, kneeling at Samuel Jackson's feet, accompanied by the soft-porn slogan "Everything Is Hotter Down South."

Despite the button-pushing imagery, Brewer seems either disingenuous or in denial about his choices as a filmmaker. "I'm exploring something that has nothing to do with race or gender," he says in a *Salon* interview, claiming, "You can't do a movie about the blues and not explore biblical imagery and Southern iconography." But in the same breath he complains, "Can we not think metaphorically once race and gender are introduced?" Yet he never says exactly what he is exploring with the panties/chains/flag metaphor, if not race or gender.

The two most powerful symbols of slavery in *Black Snake Moan* are writ large on Rae's body: the chains around her

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

waist and the rebel flag on her T-shirt. These images evoke the specter of white wrongdoing but also reframe her enslavement—which is supposed to be OK because Lazarus is black and Rae is white, and we all know what that means in the South. What makes the movie truly offensive is that it employs race to peddle its brand of misogyny.

By not exploring—but exploiting—race and gender, Brewer's camera leaves the viewer free to savor the bared body of a victim of sexual abuse and rape tied to a radiator. And savor the male critics did. "All this envelope-pushing misogyny goes down relatively easily," claims *New York Post*'s Lou Lumenick, who could "practically smell the sex and sweat" in what he dubs a "not insignificant contribution to global warming." Todd McCarthy of *Variety* predicts that the movie "will find its most eager audience among college-age guys hot to ogle the young star in some very raw action." Needless to say, none of those straight college boys would be as enthusiastic if Rae were a white man, say, a near-naked Jake Gyllenhaal. The most memorable time a woman imprisoned a man against his will on the silver screen, it was an aptly titled horror flick called *Misery.*

Brewer likes to compare himself to the great iconoclastic moviemakers of the past, especially when defending himself against charges of sexism. "If you just kind of updated [*A Streetcar Named Desire*] a little bit—I think people would just cry unbelievable misogyny and sexism about that movie," he tells *Salon*. In other words, attention to feminist carping would stifle the genius of a present-day Elia Kazan, *aka* Craig Brewer.

The claim that art should be above the pedestrian concerns of gender politics has more than its share of supporters. "The intrinsic offensiveness of *Black Snake Moan* is so overt…that railing against it is tiresome before you even get started. It's more interesting to focus on the aspects of the film that do mark a valid young talent," writes one female critic. A reader responding to a review in *Slate* grumbles, "I haven't seen 'Black Snake Moan' and I don't know if I'll like it or not. But that decision won't be shaped at all by some prissy concern [about] the moral rectitude of the main character's actions."

It's absurd to pretend that movies are exempt from public standards of morality. Hollywood movies, especially the kind funded by big studios, are careful to remain within the bounds of cultural acceptability. It's the reason no leading man, however flawed, would punch his pregnant wife à la *Streetcar* today. And there would be no *Black Snake Moan* if Ricci were black or Jackson were not. Much of the grossly sexist, racist and homophobic imagery that can be shrugged aside in a classic flick as a "sign of the times" would be unpalatable in a movie made today. And that's a good thing. Would a white guy like Brewer be as eager to make an updated *Gone With the Wind* or *Birth of a Nation*?

But if movies do indeed reflect our shared consensus about right and wrong, then *Black Snake Moan* speaks volumes about twenty-first-century America, where tying a woman to a radiator to cure her of "nymphomania" is deemed merely provocative, controversial or, at worst, tasteless. The problem isn't that we are more sexist than racist as a society. It's that race and gender are far too often pitted against each other, and one can be used to justify sins against the other. We can bomb entire countries in the name of rescuing women from Islam. So it is that Brewer uses our racist past to offer us a nice excuse to overlook—nay, relish—his blatant misogyny. And that ought to be reason enough to send the entire nation to rehab.

LAKSHMI CHAUDHRY

Lakshmi Chaudhry, a senior editor at In These Times*, is a Puffin Foundation Writing Fellow at The Nation Institute.*

CALVIN TRILLIN

'Additional Troop Increase Approved'

A grim conclusion is emerging
That Bush's surge might keep on surging,
Though no amount of troop inflation
Will qualify as escalation.

Antiwar Students Rising

At the January 27 peace march in Washington, an unlikely group of students paraded together. It was a lineup that would have been unthinkable four years ago: College Democrats, young socialist radicals, black and Latino students wearing MAKE HIP-HOP NOT WAR T-shirts, representatives of the student wing of a DC think tank and a reborn Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). "The fact that College Dems and the ISO [International Socialist Organization] were marching together without killing one another—that's a huge change," says David Duhalde, whose organization is a member of the National Youth and Student Peace Coalition (NYSPC). While radical groups have tempered their tone and tactics, mainstream progressive student organizations have become less cautious and more willing to engage in direct action—and all sides, for the first time in years, are eager to work together. "We've realized the war is more important [than our differences]," says Duhalde.

In preparation for the fourth anniversary of the beginning of the Iraq War, the NYSPC, a coalition of student groups, has been collaborating with a wide array of organizations—from the SEIU 1199 Young Worker Program to the Hip Hop Caucus, a new organization founded by the Rev. Lennox Yearwood Jr., and Campus Progress, the campus program of the Center for American Progress—on a six-point agenda. The agenda, to be released March 19, is aimed at helping "young people live better lives in America," stressing workers' and immigrants' rights, national healthcare, environmental protection, education, and war and peace.

Even the Campus Antiwar Network, widely perceived to have been dominated by students from the ISO, has broadened

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

its membership and reached out to other groups. CAN is mobilizing students for two weeks of campus actions from March 12 to 25 and is asking the NYSPC, SDS, the Hip Hop Caucus and other student and youth organizations to join them in a march on the Pentagon on March 17. "The movement as a whole is learning from past mistakes," says Chris Schwartz, a recent graduate of the University of Northern Iowa and one of CAN's vocal leaders. "To the average college student at Iowa, it looks ridiculous if organizations opposed to the war can't work together."

SDS, thus far, is working independently of CAN and NYSPC. After only a year, the resurgent SDS is emerging as perhaps the most active student organization in the antiwar movement today. While SDS favors direct action over engaging in the electoral sphere, its ideology is informed by a strategic realpolitik. "Folks like Karl Rove have the sophisticated understanding that people communicate in stories," says Joshua Russell of SDS, "and we're trying to tell a new story about American power." SDS will incorporate the narrative that America ought to be viewed as an empire instead of a benevolent superpower into a "Port Huron–style" manifesto that will clarify the aims of the nascent organization.

In the wake of Howard Dean's arrival as DNC chair, College Democrats of America (CDA) has gone from being reviled by left-wing students for its lock-step mimicry of the Democratic Party to working closely with other campus antiwar groups. Led by former Deaniacs like national spokesperson Ethan Porter and inspired by Dean's model of decentralized power, CDA has given much greater autonomy to local chapters. As a result it has expanded mightily (CDA's list of members has doubled since 2004). "It's not our place to tell campus chapters what to do or what to think," says Porter. When the *Washington Post* reported that CDA members were marching with radical student organizations in January, no one scrambled to put out a press release dissociating the organization from SDS. Instead, Porter says, "we were like, Thumbs up, high fives!"

Campus Progress, which had long been quiet on the war, is now becoming a major player in the student movement, providing antiwar speakers, hosting screenings of films like *The Ground Truth*, and giving students on campuses across the country grants and training to help them organize antiwar actions. They've even hired two full-time organizers to mobilize students against the war. "We try to base our national campaign work on cues from students in our orbit, as opposed to trying to force national campaigns on them," says Campus Progress's Emily Hawkins. "Now, a number of factors have created at least the possibility of more serious public reaction against the war, including among students and other young people."

Almost all major campus antiwar groups are working closely with veterans, through groups like Iraq Veterans Against the War, and bringing them to speak on campus at teach-ins. Iraq vet and Bowdoin student Alex Cornell du Houx recalls his unit receiving a CARE package in Iraq from Bowdoin College Democrats and a Bowdoin peace activist group. "When the other guys in my squad found out where the food came from, they reacted very positively," says du Houx, now working for a CDA media team. "It changed their perception of the College Dems and peace activists."

Four years ago numerous polls found that students, like the majority of the population, overwhelmingly supported the war. Now students, more than any other age group, oppose the war. Without doubt, student antiwar activists are more sophisticated

King of Calypso

by Walter Mosley

On March 3 several hundred people gathered at a New York restaurant to honor Harry Belafonte on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. Attendees included Wyclef Jean, Representative Charlie Rangel, Susan Sarandon, Tony Bennett, Amy Goodman and… Bill Clinton, who dropped by. Frequent Nation *contributor and bestselling author Walter Mosley was there as well and gave the following tribute.* —*The Editors*

Harry Belafonte is the best of us. Black and beautiful, brave and unwavering, willing to upset the apple cart and to lend a helping hand 365 days of the year. He entertained us not when we had given up hope but when we didn't even know that hope was an option. He has spoken for us not only when we were silent but when we weren't even aware of the words that burned in our breasts. When we whisper, he shouts and sings and calls upon gods whose names we have forgotten.

But Harry is much more than simply our better; more than a political black man who has defied a system that was once seemingly unassailable and invulnerable to the rebellions of our dark flesh. His exploits are mythic in the political arena (because he is Beowulf and Gilgamesh rolled up into one, and everything we do is weighed down by politics).

But Harry has gone beyond all that. Harry has not just defied the status quo, the man, the house Negro and the world's biggest terrorist. He has also challenged and defeated old age and the death of spirit, youth and optimism. While the rest of us have become old and begun, like all our ancestors, to blame our mistakes on our children, Harry Belafonte has found a fountain of youth in his heart and has refused to give up on the children who needed us and were abandoned by most of us. He's gone out among gangs and young hopefuls, the orphaned and criminalized, the nascent organizers and the forgotten youth, and he has given them his time, his money, his brilliance and, most important, access to his limitless reservoir of hope.

Harry Belafonte is truly a man of the people. And I believe that as a people, beyond our corrupt oligarchic government, we should name a day for our best and brightest and most beautiful. I think we should spread the word that the first day of spring is Harry Belafonte Day, or Day-O, because he is our beginning and our hope forever.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

and coordinated than ever before. But the question is whether the movement can ignite the silent antiwar majority on campus. It remains to be seen if the legacy of the Class of Iraq will be one of acquiescence or resistance. SAM GRAHAM-FELSEN

Sam Graham-Felsen, a freelance journalist and documentary filmmaker, is the author, with Katrina vanden Heuvel, of Sweet Victories.

Swords Into Plowshares

The drumbeat-steady reports of US casualties in Iraq carry names that are strange to most of us, sites of combat like Taji and Balad. The hometowns of the fallen soldiers and marines are often nearly as unfamiliar, spots like Shawnee, Oklahoma; Riverton, Kansas; and Mansfield, Washington—the kinds of towns that exist at the far edge of most Americans' attention.

Rural America may be at the outskirts of our national life, but it has become ground zero in terms of troop casualties. The war is taking a disproportionate toll on our rural communities. According to a study by the Carsey Institute, rural areas have suffered 27 percent of casualties but hold only 19 percent of the population. The survey also concluded that the death rate for rural soldiers, as a percentage of their hometown population, is 60 percent higher than for soldiers from cities and suburbs.

Becky Lourey, whose son Matt died when his helicopter was shot down over Buhriz, says she is not surprised that so many casualties come from small towns. Matt Lourey grew up outside Kerrick, Minnesota (pop. 71), where his family managed an alfalfa and beef-cattle farm. His mother says that in the tightknit towns of the area, Matt and many young people like him feel an urge to serve their community but have few opportunities outside the military. "I do know that rural kids grow up wanting to make a difference," Lourey says, pointing out that three other young men from the area have also died in Iraq. "I think there's a real crisis in this country the way college costs have risen. If you don't have a lot of money, the Army is a way to go to college."

The lack of opportunities in small towns and the allure of military service is a reminder that, two and a half decades after the "farm crisis" hit the headlines, rural areas continue to struggle economically. People living in rural communities are nearly 30 percent more likely than urbanites to live in poverty.

To focus attention on the cost rural communities are paying for the war, a new organization, Farms Not Arms, is enlisting farmers in the effort to end it. The founders hope that by encouraging farmers to speak out, they can bridge the divide between the antiwar coasts and the more prowar interior. "I think there's a lot of unhappiness about this war," says George Naylor, an Iowa corn and soy grower and president of the National Family Farm Coalition. "A lot of farmers who might be Republicans, but who aren't right-wing Republicans, have changed their views on the war."

Farms Not Arms has two main goals. The first is to increase the visibility of farmers at peace marches. Farms Not Arms members across the country will carry the group's banner at six marches marking the fourth anniversary of the Iraq invasion. Some 350 farmers have endorsed the group's statement opposing the war, which says, "While we foolishly try to police the whole world, we have lost the ability to feed ourselves." Organizers hope to have 10,000 signatures by the end of the year.

The second goal is to recruit farming families to offer their farms as refuges where returning vets can heal their battle scars through the quiet, steady pace of agricultural work. "All of these guys are coming back trashed," says Will Allen, a Marine veteran from the 1950s who today runs Cedar Circle Farm in Vermont, the state with the highest percentage of battlefield losses. "Farming is healing. We know that, because we've done it. We're in post-traumatic stress too. Because we're in bankruptcy, or we've already lost the fucking farm."

Farmers make up a tiny portion of the population. But Farms Not Arms organizers believe that despite their small numbers, they can have an outsized influence on the debate. They say there are natural cultural links between farmers and soldiers—a shared belief in hard work, discipline and collective effort—and that these similarities can be used to connect with rural soldiers and their families and convince them that it's time to end the war.

"I feel like as farmers we don't have a lot of political baggage," says Michael O'Gorman, a co-founder of Farms Not Arms. O'Gorman says he started thinking about how to oppose the war after his son enlisted. "I think we're expounding pretty American ideals here, Jeffersonian ideals.… Maybe this is a wake-up call for America, that we can't be the country we set out to be and have more soldiers than farmers. Maybe we can bring the country together." JASON MARK

Jason Mark, who co-manages Alemany Farm (www.alemanyfarm.org) in San Francisco, writes frequently about agricultural politics.

ROBERT ENGLER

Robert Engler, a friend and contributor, died February 23, aged 84. He died at his desk, working on a biography of Thorstein Veblen, a longstanding project. A retired professor of political science at the City University of New York, Engler was a political economist who brought to contemporary issues the grounded research and philosophical vision of a scholar. His daughter Nadya recalled traveling with him to Alaska to investigate the Exxon Valdez oil spill: "He talked to everybody. He treated the opinion of a taxi driver equally with the officials'." The oil industry was his primary field of study; his best-known book, *The Brotherhood of Oil* (1977), analyzed it from the standpoint of institutional power and social responsibility. He also edited *America's Energy* (1980), an anthology of *Nation* articles. Of all Engler's writings here over fifty years, the most powerful was "Technology Out of Control" (April 27, 1985), about the catastrophic escape of toxic gases from a Union Carbide plant in Bhopal, India, which killed thousands. Engler wrote: "The tragedy gives credibility to the fear that the human race may perish by its own violent cleverness." Lives lost were not abstractions: "Bhopal was murder, if not genocide."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ALEXANDER COCKBURN

Here Comes Another 'Crime Wave'

Ominously timed for Campaign 2008 we've got a hike in certain stats for violent crime. So we can look forward to Steve Squarejaw–type commitments to being tough on crime, particularly from Rudy Giuliani, John McCain and—it's surely safe to assume—Hillary Clinton. The Police Executive Research Forum, a Washington-based law-enforcement think tank whose board consists of seven police chiefs, including William Bratton of the LAPD and John Timoney of Miami, has just put out a report stridently titled *Violent Crime in America: 24 Months of Alarming Trends*. This follows the alarums of the forum's October 2006 bulletin, which featured Bratton predicting "a gathering storm" of violent crimes.

Of the fifty-six police departments voluntarily sending 2006 figures to the forum—New York City was not among them—forty reported increases in homicide and robbery. The forum says that between 2004 and 2006 homicide increased 10.2 percent, robbery 12.3 percent, aggravated assault 3.1 percent, aggravated assault with a firearm 10 percent.

Of course, crime stats are exceeded in flim-flammery only by economic forecasts. Astrology is a far more reliable analytic tool, as Ron and Nancy Reagan learned under the guidance of Mistress Quigley. Entrail-reading is even better. But if the animal rights crowd raises a ruckus about cutting open a beast of the field to look at its liver, a qualified ooscopist can do a decent job by inspecting the yolk of an uncooked egg.

The forum's fearful trumpetings would diminish sharply if its statistics addressed crime rates rather than merely numbers of crimes. The population of the United States is rising by about 1 percent per year. As columnist John Lott pointed out, if the police chiefs had measured the violent crime rate, "it would have been hard to argue that violent crime is increasing because while the rate did go up slightly in 2005, it had fallen *every single previous year* since 1991. How can they claim that violent crime is out of control when it had fallen for thirteen straight years before rising by 1.3 percent for just one year?"

There are wide divergences in the performance of the cities reporting to the forum. Murderers in Charleston worked away diligently and managed to hike their total from eleven victims in 2005 to twenty-three in 2006, a headline-making rise of 109 percent. By contrast, the murderers of Atlanta could only manage 107 in 2006, up from a disappointing eighty-nine in 2005, but down from 112 in 2004. In Chicago aggravated assaults fell for two straight years, from 18,820 in 2004 to 17,438 in 2006, a drop of 7.3 percent.

Debatable in many of its aspects, such a rise in crimes as there has been started in 2004, ending the long decline during the 1990s that lasted through the turn of the millennium. Between 1992 and 2001 the FBI's core crime stats went down 17.9 percent. This was largely achieved by the expedient of locking up or putting on parole or probation about 3 percent of the population. At the end of 2005, 7 million people—one in every thirty-two American adults—were behind bars or on probation or parole. The United States had 5 percent of the world's people and 25 percent of the world's prisoners.

Elliott Currie, who teaches criminology at UC, Irvine, and wrote the excellent *Crime and Punishment in America*, tells my *Nation* colleague Wes Enzinna that in his opinion the right-wing exaggerates how much crime has declined since the early 1990s as a result of "law and order" efforts. One major factor was the crack and gun boom, a self-limiting phenomenon that could last only so long, and cause so much crime, before it largely destroyed those involved.

Currie also stresses that nothing was done to abate crime on a long-term, constructive basis. People were thrown into prison, while the root causes—ravaged communities, abandoned and demonized youth—were exacerbated. Any recent crime rise can be largely explained as part of a cycle. People are now getting out of prison to find no services or jobs, returning to communities that are even worse off than before. So many of them commit crimes again. Methamphetamine is a popular salve amid these crises.

A year before the 2004 violent crime uptick, the Bush regime thrust the country into an illegal war contrived by lies, unleashing criminal violence in Iraq, with the Afghanistan attack as prelude. The long-term effects of wars upon crime at home have been studied in some detail. One in eight returning soldiers, the US Army estimates, suffers from posttraumatic stress disorder. Many of these soldiers become powder kegs, prone to alcohol or drug addiction, and to violence.

On February 22, Sgt. Paul Cortez, 24, was sentenced to 100 years in prison for his part in the gang rape and murder of a 14-year-old Iraqi girl, Abeer Qassim al-Janabi, and the killing of her family last year. (He will be eligible for parole in ten years under the terms of his plea agreement.)

Tears, so the AP report told us, "rolled down Cortez's face as he apologized for the rape and murders. He said he could not explain why he took part. 'I still don't have an answer,' Cortez told the judge. 'I don't know why. I wish I hadn't.'" The US attack on Iraq destroyed that family and thousands more. It destroyed Cortez. There will be physical and psychic wreckage from that war in most American communities for years to come.

Will any candidate in the months to come have the moral and intellectual fortitude to shun the lock-'em-up grandstanding that has given us the American gulag? Will such a candidate connect crime abroad to crime at home? In Congressional appropriations the war has cost, thus far, $408 billion. In January 2006 Joseph Stiglitz and Linda Bilmes reckoned the likely cost to be up to four times that total. Every dollar going to the war has been confiscated from constructive social purposes—economic investment at home, community repair, the creation of jobs, job training, reviving stricken communities.

That's a populist theme that Senator James Webb seized upon in his response to Bush's State of the Union. Edwards sounds the same theme from time to time. The moment is ripe for it. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

KATHA POLLITT

Europeans Do It Better

Getting a better deal for mothers has been at the forefront of the feminist agenda for decades, although you'd never know it from the way the women's movement is always being accused of attacking women with kids. So it's ironic that what is finally driving at least some governments to act is the desire to boost fertility rates. The aim is to breed the next generation of workers—ethnically correct workers, too, not the troublesome immigrant kind. As Sharon Lerner noted in *The New York Times Magazine* ("The Motherhood Experiment," March 4), fertility rates—the average number of children per woman—have fallen below replacement level in ninety countries, including such Catholic stalwarts as Ireland (1.9), Spain (1.3), Italy (1.3) and Portugal (1.4). Even the much-trumpeted increasing US population is mostly a product of immigration (the actual fertility rate is 2.0). While politicians in Japan (1.3) seem fatally drawn to chastising women as recalcitrant "baby-making machines," European governments have started asking if making life easier for working mothers might do the trick.

In the modern world, the traditional ways of producing large families—early marriage, lack of sex ed and birth control, religious propaganda, community pressure, denial of education and jobs to women—don't work so well, especially when combined with the high cost of living that prevails in many developed countries. Even in comparatively conservative countries like Greece (1.3), young women are going to college, working and postponing marriage, as young men have been doing for years. Faced with the choice between career and kids, a lot of women seem to be voting with their wombs. As Lerner notes, the countries with the most rigidly patriarchal families and the most sexist workplaces are the ones with the lowest birthrates. (That's something for the World Congress of Families to consider when it meets in May in Warsaw. Founded by right-wing "family values" ideologue Allan Carlson, the WCF inveighs against abortion, same-sex marriage and secularism and promotes large "natural families" and "religious orthodoxy." I don't get the feeling working moms are on the agenda.)

If fears of population implosion result in paid parental leave, improved childcare and more support for mothers' careers, it won't be the first time a government has done the right thing for the wrong reason. But isn't it weird to promote population growth while we wring our hands over global warming, environmental damage, species loss and suburban sprawl? The United Nations projects that in 2050 the world's population will reach 9.2 billion! When we think of overpopulation the usual image is of some teeming Third World slum, and indeed most population growth will come in the developing world. But actually it's the developed world that's doing the earth in. Every American uses as much energy as forty-eight Bangladeshis, and as many resources as an African village. Europeans and Japanese aren't far behind. What feels right for a nation or an ethnicity—we need more Russians! more Italians! more Scots!—might be wrong for the human race, to say nothing of polar bears.

For decades experts have argued that heavy-handed fertility-control schemes were unwarranted and that modernization—better healthcare, women's rights, voluntary contraception—would cause birthrates to fall naturally. And so they have! It worked! We should be cheering. Six billion people is plenty. Since women themselves are taking the initiative, why not take advantage? There's a limit to what family-friendly policies can achieve. Even Sweden, which has done the most to help mothers keep working and is also ahead of the curve on encouraging men to take leaves, is at only 1.7.

Measures that facilitate combining work with motherhood are simple gender justice. But paying women to have kids, as in France, which offers a year's paid leave of up to 1,000 Euros a month for a third child—that's just nationalistic vanity. Fact is, population decline looks practically inevitable—according to the UN, in a few generations Asia and Latin America will start shrinking as well—so why not learn to live with it? Economically, the problem is a coming dearth of young workers to fund social security and care for an aging population. Yet while demographers fret about those unconceived second and third babies, every country on earth throws away plenty of children who are already here. Poor children, for example—why can't they grow up to be those missing skilled, educated people and productive workers? What about the children of France's Arab immigrants who rioted two years ago to protest joblessness and social exclusion? The Gypsies of Eastern Europe, whose kids are written off at birth and who have been sterilized without their consent in Slovakia and the Czech Republic? Vladimir Putin bemoans Russia's free-falling population, but babies are still being stashed in his country's appalling orphanages. Get those kids out of there, or stop complaining! The disabled, or older people who'd like to keep their jobs past the legal retirement age—there are a lot of would-be workers who just need a bit of accommodation. Instead of cajoling or bribing women into gestating the home-health attendants of the future, states should start treasuring the people—all the people—they have right now.

That includes immigrants. Just below the polite official discussion, there's a disturbing undercurrent of nativism and racism that in some places is merging with the family-values religious right. "Europe is almost lost; to a demographic winter and to the secularists," claims the WCF. "If Europe goes much of the world will go with it." Fortunately, one country is a beacon of hope: "Poland has saved Europe before. It is likely she will save Europe again." When was it exactly that Poland saved Europe, you ask? That would be 1683, when the Polish army of King John Sobieski led the defeat of the Turks in the siege of Vienna, thus halting Muslim expansion in Europe. Will Polish women bear kids for Christ? The ruling Law and Justice Party is doing its part, with legal restrictions on abortion and contraception. Maybe they should try childcare. Current number of children per Polish woman: 1.3. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES

BUSH'S SHADOW ARMY

by JEREMY SCAHILL

On September 10, 2001, before most Americans had heard of Al Qaeda or imagined the possibility of a "war on terror," Donald Rumsfeld stepped to the podium at the Pentagon to deliver one of his first major addresses as Defense Secretary under President George W. Bush. Standing before the former corporate executives he had tapped as his top deputies overseeing the high-stakes business of military contracting—many of them from firms like Enron, General Dynamics and Aerospace Corporation—Rumsfeld issued a declaration of war.

"The topic today is an adversary that poses a threat, a serious threat, to the security of the United States of America," Rumsfeld thundered. "It disrupts the defense of the United States and places the lives of men and women in uniform at risk." He told his new staff, "You may think I'm describing one of the last decrepit dictators of the world.... [But] the adversary's closer to home," he said. "It's the Pentagon bureaucracy." Rumsfeld called for a wholesale shift in the running of the Pentagon, supplanting the old DoD bureaucracy with a new model, one based on the private sector. Announcing this major overhaul, Rumsfeld told his audience, "I have no desire to attack the Pentagon; I want to liberate it. We need to save it from itself."

The next morning, the Pentagon would be attacked, literally, as a Boeing 757—American Airlines Flight 77—smashed into its western wall. Rumsfeld would famously assist rescue workers in pulling bodies from the rubble. But it didn't take long for Rumsfeld to seize the almost unthinkable opportunity presented by 9/11 to put his personal war—laid out just a day before—on the fast track. The new Pentagon policy would emphasize covert actions, sophisticated weapons systems and greater reliance on private contractors. It became known as the Rumsfeld Doctrine. "We must promote a more entrepreneurial approach: one that encourages people to be proactive, not reactive, and to behave less like bureaucrats and more like venture capitalists," Rumsfeld wrote in the summer of 2002 in an article for *Foreign Affairs* titled "Transforming the Military."

Although Rumsfeld was later thrown overboard by the Administration in an attempt to placate critics of the Iraq War, his military revolution was here to stay. Bidding farewell to Rumsfeld in November 2006, Bush credited him with overseeing the "most sweeping transformation of America's global force posture since the end of World War II." Indeed, Rumsfeld's trademark "small footprint" approach ushered in one of the most significant developments in modern warfare—the widespread use of private contractors in every aspect of war, including in combat.

The often overlooked subplot of the wars of the post-9/11 period is their unprecedented scale of outsourcing and privatization. From the moment the US troop buildup began in advance of the invasion of Iraq, the Pentagon made private contractors an integral part of the operations. Even as the government gave the public appearance of attempting diplomacy, Halliburton was prepping for a massive operation. When US tanks rolled into Baghdad in March 2003, they brought with them the largest army of private contractors ever deployed in modern war. By the end of Rumsfeld's tenure in late 2006, there were an estimated 100,000 private contractors on the ground in Iraq—an almost one-to-one ratio with active-duty American soldiers.

To the great satisfaction of the war industry, before Rumsfeld resigned he took the extraordinary step of classifying private contractors as an official part of the US war machine. In the Pentagon's 2006 Quadrennial Review, Rumsfeld outlined what he called a "road map for change" at the DoD, which he said had begun to be implemented in 2001. It defined the "Department's Total Force" as "its active and reserve military components, its civil servants, and its contractors—constitut[ing] its warfighting

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOBODY OWNS THE NATION.

Not GE. Not Disney. Not Murdoch or Time Warner. We are a wholly owned subsidiary of our own conscience.

This independence is why great writers have always used *The Nation* as an Early Warning System—to expose before it's too late the frauds, felonies and follies of the all–too–private enterprise we call Our Government.

And it's why week in, week out we're read by an audience as illustrious as our authors.

If you believe, as our readers do, that the highest form of patriotism is demanding to know exactly what Government's doing in your name, why not sign on today at this *very* low rate? You can save a lot—not least of which could be your country.

THAT'S WHY SO MANY SOMEBODIES READ IT.

(Legally speaking, of course, everything has an owner, but as a *Nation* editor once wrote, "it is one of the superb facts about *The Nation* that you can no more 'own' it than you can own the spirit it represents.")

Subscribe NOW
www.TheNation.com/trial-rate
800-333-8536

Larry David is a longstanding **Nation** *reader.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

capability and capacity. Members of the Total Force serve in thousands of locations around the world, performing a vast array of duties to accomplish critical missions." This formal designation represented a major triumph for war contractors—conferring on them a legitimacy they had never before enjoyed.

Contractors have provided the Bush Administration with political cover, allowing the government to deploy private forces in a war zone free of public scrutiny, with the deaths, injuries and crimes of those forces shrouded in secrecy. The Administration and the GOP-controlled Congress in turn have shielded the contractors from accountability, oversight and legal constraints. Despite the presence of more than 100,000 private contractors on the ground in Iraq, only one has been indicted for crimes or violations. "We have over 200,000 troops in Iraq and half of them aren't being counted, and the danger is that there's zero accountability," says Democrat Dennis Kucinich, one of the leading Congressional critics of war contracting.

While the past years of Republican monopoly on government have marked a golden era for the industry, those days appear to be ending. Just a month into the new Congressional term, leading Democrats were announcing investigations of runaway war contractors. Representative John Murtha, chair of the Appropriations Committee's Subcommittee on Defense, after returning from a trip to Iraq in late January, said, "We're going to have extensive hearings to find out exactly what's going on with contractors. They don't have a clear mission and they're falling all over each other." Two days later, during confirmation hearings for Gen. George Casey as Army chief of staff, Senator Jim Webb declared, "This is a rent-an-army out there." Webb asked Casey, "Wouldn't it be better for this country if those tasks, particularly the quasi-military gunfighting tasks, were being performed by active-duty military soldiers in terms of cost and accountability?" Casey defended the contracting system but said armed contractors "are the ones that we have to watch very carefully." Senator Joe Biden, chair of the Foreign Relations Committee, has also indicated he will hold hearings on contractors. Parallel to the ongoing investigations, there are several bills gaining steam in Congress aimed at contractor oversight.

Occupying the hot seat through these deliberations is the shadowy mercenary company Blackwater USA. Unbeknownst to many Americans and largely off the Congressional radar, Blackwater has secured a position of remarkable power and protection within the US war apparatus. This company's success represents the realization of the life's work of the conservative officials who formed the core of the Bush Administration's war team, for whom radical privatization has long been a cherished ideological mission. Blackwater has repeatedly cited Rumsfeld's statement that contractors are part of the "Total Force" as evidence that it is a legitimate part of the nation's "warfighting capability and capacity." Invoking Rumsfeld's designation, the company has in effect declared its forces above the law—entitled to the immunity from civilian lawsuits enjoyed by the military, but also not bound by the military's court martial system. While the initial inquiries into Blackwater have focused on the complex labyrinth of secretive subcontracts under which it operates in Iraq, a thorough investigation into the company reveals a frightening picture of a politically connected private army that has become the Bush Administration's Praetorian Guard.

Blackwater Rising

Blackwater was founded in 1996 by conservative Christian multimillionaire and ex–Navy SEAL Erik Prince—the scion of a wealthy Michigan family whose generous political donations helped fuel the rise of the religious right and the Republican revolution of 1994. At its founding, the company largely consisted of Prince's private fortune and a vast 5,000-acre plot of land located near the Great Dismal Swamp in Moyock, North Carolina. Its vision was "to fulfill the anticipated demand for government outsourcing of firearms and related security training." In the following years, Prince, his family and his political allies poured money into Republican campaign coffers, supporting the party's takeover of Congress and the ascension of George W. Bush to the presidency.

While Blackwater won government contracts during the Clinton era, which was friendly to privatization, it was not until the "war on terror" that the company's glory moment arrived. Almost overnight, following September 11, the company would become a central player in a global war. "I've been operating in the training business now for four years and was starting to get a little cynical on how seriously people took security," Prince told Fox News host Bill O'Reilly shortly after 9/11. "The phone is ringing off the hook now."

Among those calls was one from the CIA, which contracted Blackwater to work in Afghanistan in the early stages of US operations there. In the ensuing years the company has become one of the greatest beneficiaries of the "war on terror," winning nearly $1 billion in noncovert government contracts, many of them no-bid arrangements. In just a decade Prince has expanded the Moyock headquarters to 7,000 acres, making it the world's largest private military base. Blackwater currently has 2,300 personnel deployed in nine countries, with 20,000 other contractors at the ready. It has a fleet of more than twenty aircraft, including helicopter gunships and a private intelligence division, and it is manufacturing surveillance blimps and target systems.

In 2005 after Hurricane Katrina its forces deployed in New Orleans, where it billed the federal government $950 per man, per day—at one point raking in more than $240,000 a day. At its peak the company had about 600 contractors deployed from Texas to Mississippi. Since Katrina, it has aggressively pursued domestic contracting, opening a new domestic operations division. Blackwater is marketing its products and services to the Department of Homeland Security, and its representatives have met with California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger. The company has applied for operating licenses in all US coastal states. Blackwater is also expanding its physical presence inside US borders, opening facilities in Illinois and California.

Jeremy Scahill, an award-winning investigative journalist and correspondent for the national radio and TV program Democracy Now!*, is a Puffin Foundation Writing Fellow at The Nation Institute. This article is adapted from his new book,* Blackwater: The Rise of the World's Most Powerful Mercenary Army *(Nation Books).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Its largest obtainable government contract is with the State Department, for providing security to US diplomats and facilities in Iraq. That contract began in 2003 with the company's $21 million no-bid deal to protect Iraq proconsul Paul Bremer. Blackwater has guarded the two subsequent US ambassadors, John Negroponte and Zalmay Khalilzad, as well as other diplomats and occupation offices. Its forces have protected more than ninety Congressional delegations in Iraq, including that of House Speaker Nancy Pelosi. According to the latest government contract records, since June 2004 Blackwater has been awarded $750 million in State Department contracts alone. It is currently engaged in an intensive lobbying campaign to be sent into Darfur as a privatized peacekeeping force. Last October President Bush lifted some sanctions on Christian southern Sudan, paving the way for a potential Blackwater training mission there. In January the Washington, DC, representative for southern Sudan's regional government said he expected Blackwater to begin training the south's security forces soon.

With its DC lobbying, Blackwater sought to play a role in crafting the rules that would govern mercenaries under US contract.

Since 9/11 Blackwater has hired some well-connected officials close to the Bush Administration as senior executives. Among them are J. Cofer Black, former head of counterterrorism at the CIA and the man who led the hunt for Osama bin Laden after 9/11, and Joseph Schmitz, former Pentagon Inspector General, who was responsible for policing contractors like Blackwater during much of the "war on terror"—something he stood accused of not doing effectively. By the end of Schmitz's tenure, powerful Republican Senator Charles Grassley launched a Congressional probe into whether Schmitz had "quashed or redirected two ongoing criminal investigations" of senior Bush Administration officials. Under bipartisan fire, Schmitz resigned and signed up with Blackwater.

Despite its central role, Blackwater had largely operated in the shadows until March 31, 2004, when four of its private soldiers in Iraq were ambushed and killed in Falluja. A mob then burned the bodies and dragged them through the streets, stringing up two from a bridge over the Euphrates. In many ways it was the moment the Iraq War turned. US forces laid siege to Falluja days later, killing hundreds of people and displacing thousands, inflaming the fierce Iraqi resistance that haunts occupation forces to this day. For most Americans, it was the first they had heard of private soldiers. "People began to figure out this is quite a phenomenon," says Representative David Price, a North Carolina Democrat, who said he began monitoring the use of private contractors after Falluja. "I'm probably like most Congress members in kind of coming to this awareness and developing an interest in it" after the incident.

What is not so well-known is that in Washington after Falluja, Blackwater executives kicked into high gear, capitalizing on the company's newfound recognition. The day after the ambush, it hired the Alexander Strategy Group, a K Street lobbying firm run by former senior staffers of then–majority leader Tom DeLay before the firm's meltdown in the wake of the Jack Abramoff scandal. A week to the day after the ambush, Erik Prince was sitting down with at least four senior members of the Senate Armed Services Committee, including its chair, John Warner. Senator Rick Santorum arranged the meeting, which included Warner and two other key Republican senators—Appropriations Committee chair Ted Stevens of Alaska and George Allen of Virginia. This meeting followed an earlier series of face-to-faces Prince had had with powerful House Republicans who oversaw military contracts. Among them: DeLay; Porter Goss, chair of the House Intelligence Committee (and future CIA director); Duncan Hunter, chair of the House Armed Services Committee; and Representative Bill Young, chair of the House Appropriations Committee. What was discussed at these meetings remains a secret. But Blackwater was clearly positioning itself to make the most of its new fame. Indeed, two months later, Blackwater was handed one of the government's most valuable international security contracts, worth more than $300 million.

The firm was also eager to stake out a role in crafting the rules that would govern mercenaries under US contract. "Because of the public events of March 31, [Blackwater's] visibility and need to communicate a consistent message has elevated here in Washington," said Blackwater's new lobbyist Chris Bertelli. "There are now several federal regulations that apply to their activities, but they are generally broad in nature. One thing that's lacking is an industry standard. That's something we definitely want to be engaged in." By May Blackwater was leading a lobbying effort by the private military industry to try to block Congressional or Pentagon efforts to place their forces under the military court martial system.

But while Blackwater enjoyed its new status as a hero in the "war on terror" within the Administration and the GOP-controlled Congress, the families of the four men killed at Falluja say they were being stonewalled by Blackwater as they attempted to understand the circumstances of how their loved ones were killed. After what they allege was months of effort to get straight answers from the company, the families filed a ground-breaking wrongful death lawsuit against Blackwater in January 2005, accusing the company of not providing the men with what they say were contractually guaranteed safeguards. Among the allegations: The company sent them on the Falluja mission that day short two men, with less powerful weapons than they should have had and in Pajero jeeps instead of armored vehicles. This case could have far-reaching reverberations and is being monitored closely by the war-contractor industry—former Halliburton subsidiary KBR has even filed an amicus brief supporting Blackwater. If the lawsuit is successful, it could pave the way for a tobacco litigation–type scenario, where war contractors find themselves besieged by legal claims of workers killed or injured in war zones.

As the case has made its way through the court system, Blackwater has enlisted powerhouse Republican lawyers to defend it, among them Fred Fielding, who was recently named by Bush as White House counsel, replacing Harriet Miers; and Kenneth Starr, former Whitewater prosecutor investigating President Clinton, and the company's current counsel of record. Blackwater has not formally debated the specific allegations in the suit, but

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"As a professional restorer of antique and classic watches for museums, including the Smithsonian, I recently reviewed the movement and individual parts of the Stauer Monaco watch. The assembly and the precision of the mechanical movement are excellent."

—George Thomas
Towson Watch Company

A Free Car with Every Watch?...Keep Reading

I love classic watches. They are finely tuned miniature mechanical marvels that are both beautiful and functional. But many Swiss models cost more than my new car. So we at Stauer decided to replicate the movement of a magnificent $26,000 Swiss Automatic watch but sell it to you for only $99. So you end up with $25,901 in change. That's enough to buy a brand new sedan or SUV.

Is their watch really worth $26,000...

Well we don't believe that any watch is. That's the point. How did we build such a fine machine for such a low price? We decided that we could save you a fortune on the perfect watch if we moved the factory across the border and out of Switzerland. By using Swiss built machinery and Swiss trained engineers, Stauer is able to build this magnificent limited edition Stauer Monaco automatic timepiece for 93% less than a comparable luxury model.

24 jewels and 185 hand-assembled parts drive this classic masterpiece.

Our factory spent over $26 million on Swiss made machinery to ensure the highest quality parts. We hired Swiss trained engineers to manage the production. We even purchased Swiss calibrators to ensure rigorous accuracy. But we avoided the high taxes and high marketing costs in Switzerland.

We built this brilliant timepiece with a 6-hand movement. The Stauer Monaco displays the date and day of the week. A third interior dial displays 24-hour military time. The exquisite automatic movement is powered by your body's motion so it never needs batteries. The interior workings have over 185 parts assembled by hand. Twenty-four rubies act to minimize the friction on the gears and rotors so the movement maintains incredible accuracy. Every single watch is timed for 15 days before it leaves the factory.

You can tell the quality by the smooth sweeping motion of the second hand. It doesn't click like a mass produced quartz movement.

Show the world that you are not a slave to the brainwashing of the overpaid Swiss marketing mavens.

Cut out the high priced jewelry store. Stop paying for the yacht race sponsorships and for outrageous 5th Avenue rents that inflate the prices of the "luxury" brands. Stauer brings the ultimate luxury watch directly to you. This one comes with the added luxury of keeping your money in your wallet, not on your wrist.

We are so sure that you will be stunned at the quality of this magnificent Stauer Monaco that we offer a 30-day money back guarantee. If you are not completely satisfied, just return it for a full refund of the purchase price.

Not Available in Stores

Call now to take advantage of this limited offer.

Stauer Monaco • *$99.00* + S&H *or*
Only 3 Payments of $33.00 + S&H.

800-721-0373

Promotional Code SMC211-04
Please mention this code when you call.

To order by mail, please call for details.

Stauer
Heritage of Art & Science

14101 Southcross Drive W.,
Dept. SMC211-04
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day **800-721-0373**

Visit us online at www.Stauer.com for the complete line of Stauer Watches, Jewelry and Collectibles

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

what has emerged in its court filings is a series of legal arguments intended to bolster Blackwater's contention that it is essentially above the law. Blackwater claims that if US courts allow the company to be sued for wrongful death, that could threaten the nation's war-fighting capacity: "Nothing could be more destructive of the all-volunteer, Total Force concept underlying U.S. military manpower doctrine than to expose the private components to the tort liability systems of fifty states, transported overseas to foreign battlefields," the company argued in legal papers. In February Blackwater suffered a major defeat when the Supreme Court declined its appeal to hear the Falluja case, paving the way for the state trial—where there would be no cap on damages a jury could award—to proceed.

Congress is beginning to take an interest in this potentially groundbreaking case. On February 7 Representative Henry Waxman chaired hearings of the Oversight and Government Reform Committee. While the hearings were billed as looking at US reliance on military contractors, they largely focused on Blackwater and the Falluja incident. For the first time, Blackwater was forced to share a venue with the families of the men killed at Falluja. "Private contractors like Blackwater work outside the scope of the military's chain of command and can literally do whatever they please without any liability or accountability from the US government," Katy Helvenston, whose son Scott was one of the Blackwater contractors killed, told the committee. "Therefore, Blackwater can continue accepting hundreds of millions of dollars in taxpayer money from the government without having to answer a single question about its security operators."

Citing the pending litigation, Blackwater's general counsel, Andrew Howell, declined to respond to many of the charges levied against his company by the families and asked several times for the committee to go into closed session. "The men who went on the mission on March 31, each had their weapons and they had sufficient ammunition," Howell told the committee, adding that the men were in "appropriate" vehicles. That was sharply disputed by the men's families, who allege that in order to save $1.5 million Blackwater did not provide the four with armored vehicles. "Once the men signed on with Blackwater and were flown to the Middle East, Blackwater treated them as fungible commodities," Helvenston told lawmakers in her emotional testimony, delivered on behalf of all four families.

The issue that put this case on Waxman's radar was the labyrinth of subcontracts underpinning the Falluja mission. Since November 2004 Waxman has been trying to pin down who the Blackwater men were ultimately working for the day of the ambush. "For over eighteen months, the Defense Department wouldn't even respond to my inquiry," says Waxman. "When it finally replied last July, it didn't even supply the breakdown I requested. In fact, it denied that private security contractors did any work at all under the [Pentagon's contracting program]. We now know that isn't true." Waxman's struggle to follow the money on this one contract involving powerful war contractors like KBR provides a graphic illustration of the secretive nature of the whole war contracting industry.

What is not in dispute regarding the Falluja incident is that Blackwater was working with a Kuwaiti business called Regency under a contract with the world's largest food services company, Eurest Support Services. ESS is a subcontractor for KBR and another giant war contractor, Fluor, in Iraq under the Pentagon's LOGCAP contracting program. One contract covering Blackwater's Falluja mission indicated the mission was ultimately a subcontract with KBR. Last summer KBR denied this. Then ESS wrote Waxman to say the mission was conducted under Fluor's contract with ESS. Fluor denied that, and the Pentagon told Waxman it didn't know which company the mission was ultimately linked to. Waxman alleged that Blackwater and the other subcontractors were "adding significant markups" to their subcontracts for the same security services that Waxman believes were then charged to US taxpayers. "It's remarkable that the world of contractors and subcontractors is so murky that we can't even get to the bottom of this, let alone calculate how many millions of dollars taxpayers lose in each step of the subcontracting process," says Waxman.

While it appeared for much of the February 7 hearing that the contract's provenance would remain obscure, that changed when, at the end of the hearing, the Pentagon revealed that the original contractor was, in fact, KBR. In violation of military policy against LOGCAP contractors' using private forces for security instead of US troops, KBR had entered into a subcontract with ESS that was protected by Blackwater; those costs were allegedly passed on to US taxpayers to the tune of $19.6 million. Blackwater said it billed ESS $2.3 million for its services, meaning a markup of more than $17 million was ultimately passed on to the government. Three weeks after the hearing, KBR told shareholders it may be forced to repay up to $400 million to the government as a result of an ongoing Army investigation.

It took more than two years for Waxman to get an answer to a simple question: Whom were US taxpayers paying for services? But, as the Falluja lawsuit shows, it is not just money at issue. It is human life.

A Killing on Christmas Eve

While much of the publicity Blackwater has received stems from Falluja, another, more recent incident is attracting new scrutiny. On Christmas Eve inside Baghdad's heavily fortified Green Zone, an American Blackwater contractor allegedly shot and killed an Iraqi bodyguard protecting a senior Iraqi official. For weeks after the shooting, unconfirmed reports circulated around the Internet that alcohol may have been involved and that the Iraqi was shot ten times in the chest. The story then went that the contractor was spirited out of Iraq before he could be prosecuted. Media inquiries got nowhere—the US Embassy refused to confirm that it was a Blackwater contractor, and the company refused to comment.

Then the incident came up at the February 7 Congressional hearing. As the session was drawing to a close, Representative Kucinich raced back into the room with what he said was a final question. He entered a news report on the incident into the record and asked Blackwater counsel Howell if Blackwater had flown the contractor out of Iraq after the alleged shooting. "That gentleman, on the day the incident occurred, he was off duty," Howell said, in what was the first official confirmation of the incident from Blackwater. "Blackwater did bring him back to the United States."

"Is he going to be extradited back to Iraq for murder,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Recapture the glory that was Ancient Greece with this brilliant course

Ancient Greek Civilization offers 24 information-packed lectures on one of the greatest cultures the world has ever seen

Blazoned above the portals of Apollo's temple at Delphi were the words, "Know thyself." For us, this means knowing the Greeks.

In a corner of the Mediterranean, emerging from the darkness of prehistory, the Greeks created a culture that still shapes us every day: democracy, philosophy, tragedy, poetry, history-writing, our aesthetic sensibilities and ideals of athletic competition, and more. *Who were these people?* The answers are fascinating, particularly with Professor Jeremy McInerney as your guide.

These recorded lectures cover the 11 centuries from the end of the Neolithic period to the conquests of Alexander the Great. Professor Jeremy McInerney traces the complex links between our civilization and its Hellenic origins. You can be confident that the insights you get from him are based on the newest and best in academic research and criticism. You'll come away enriched by new knowledge, not only of history, but of literature, art, philosophy, religion, and more.

You'll pay special attention to the era of the Persian and Peloponnesian wars and of classical Athens as unforgettably described by Herodotus, Thucydides, and Plato. Professor McInerney guides you through a rich trove of literary and archaeological evidence, including the *Iliad* and *Odyssey;* Heinrich Schliemann's excavations at Troy and Mycenae; Aeschylus's *Oresteia;* and the traces left by the wealthy Greek colonies in Sicily.

Ancient Greek Civilization lays bare the deepest historical roots of ideas upon which our world still depends. You'll see how and where they first arose, and you'll trace the course of their development in the ancient Hellenic world, a place at once highly familiar and acutely strange.

About Your Professor

Dr. Jeremy McInerney (Ph.D., University of California at Berkeley) is Associate Professor of Classical Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, where from 1994 to 1998 he held the Laura Jan Meyerson Term Chair in the Humanities. He also currently serves as chair of the University's Graduate Group in the Art and Archaeology of the Mediterranean World. He has firsthand archaeological experience at sites in Corinth, Crete, and Israel, and serves on the Managing Committee of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, Greece.

© Corel Stock Photo Library

Parthenon, Acropolis, Athens, Greece.

About The Teaching Company

We review hundreds of top-rated professors from America's best colleges and universities each year. From this extraordinary group we choose only those rated highest by panels of our customers. Fewer than 10% of these world-class scholar-teachers are selected to make The Great Courses. We've been doing this since 1990, producing more than 2,000 hours of material in modern and ancient history, philosophy, literature, fine arts, the sciences, and mathematics for intelligent, engaged, adult lifelong learners. If a course is ever less than completely satisfying, you may exchange it for another or we will refund your money promptly.

Lecture Titles

1. Greece and the Western World
2. Minoan Crete
3. Schliemann and Mycenae
4. The Long Twilight
5. The Age of Heroes
6. From Sicily to Syria—The Growth of Trade and Colonization
7. Delphi and Olympia
8. The Spartans
9. Revolution
10. Tyranny
11. The Origins of Democracy
12. Beyond Greece—The Persian Empire
13. The Persian Wars
14. The Athenian Empire
15. The Art of Democracy
16. Sacrifice and Greek Religion
17. Theater and the Competition of Art
18. Sex and Gender
19. The Peloponnesian War, Part I
20. The Peloponnesian War, Part II
21. Socrates on Trial
22. Slavery and Freedom
23. Athens in Decline?
24. Philip, Alexander, and Greece in Transition

THE TEACHING COMPANY®
The Joy of Lifelong Learning Every Day®
GREAT PROFESSORS, GREAT COURSES, GREAT VALUE GUARANTEED®

About Our Sale Price Policy

Why is the sale price for this course so much lower than its standard price? Every course we make goes on sale at least once a year. Producing large quantities of only the sale courses keeps costs down and allows us to pass the savings on to you. This approach also enables us to fill your order immediately: 99% of all orders placed by 2:00 p.m. eastern time ship that same day. Order before April 9, 2007, to receive these savings.

SAVE UP TO $185!
OFFER GOOD UNTIL APRIL 9, 2007

1-800-TEACH-12 (1-800-832-2412)
Fax: 703-378-3819

Special offer is available online at
www.TEACH12.com/9ntn

The Great Courses®
THE TEACHING COMPANY®
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, VA 20151-1232

Priority Code 22894

Please send me **Ancient Greek Civilization,** which consists of 24 half-hour lectures with complete lecture outlines.

- ☐ **DVD $69.95** (std. price $254.95) **SAVE $185!** plus $10 shipping, processing, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Audio CD $49.95** (std. price $179.95) **SAVE $130!** plus $10 shipping, processing, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Audiotape $34.95** (std. price $129.95) **SAVE $95!** plus $10 shipping, processing, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Check or Money Order Enclosed**

* Non-U.S. Orders: Additional shipping charges apply. For more details, call us or visit the FAQ page on our website.

** Virginia residents please add 5% sales tax.

Charge my credit card:

☐ VISA ☐ ☐ ☐

Account Number — Exp. Date

Signature

Name (please print)

Mailing Address

City/State/ZIP

Phone (If we have questions regarding your order—required for international orders)

☐ **FREE CATALOG.** Please send me a free copy of your current catalog (no purchase necessary).

Special offer is available online at www.TEACH12.com/9ntn
Offer Good Through April 9, 2007

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and if not, why not?" Kucinich asked.

"Sir, I am not law enforcement. All I can say is that there's currently an investigation," Howell replied. "We are fully cooperating and supporting that investigation."

Kucinich then said, "I just want to point out that there's a question that could actually make [Blackwater's] corporate officers accessories here in helping to create a flight from justice for someone who's committed a murder."

The War on the Hill

Several bills are now making their way through Congress aimed at oversight and transparency of the private forces that have emerged as major players in the wars of the post-9/11 period. In mid-February Senators Byron Dorgan, Patrick Leahy and John Kerry introduced legislation aimed at cracking down on no-bid contracts and cronyism, providing for penalties of up to twenty years in prison and fines of up to $1 million for what they called "war profiteering." It is part of what Democrats describe as a multi-pronged approach. "I think there's a critical mass of us now who are working on it," says Congressman Price, who represents Blackwater's home state. In January Price introduced legislation that would expand the Military Extraterritorial Jurisdiction Act of 2000 (MEJA) to include *all* contractors in a war zone, not just those working for or alongside the armed forces. Most of Blackwater's work in Iraq, for instance, is contracted by the State Department. Price indicated that the alleged Christmas Eve shooting could be a test case of sorts under his legislation. "I will be following this and I'll be calling for a full investigation," he said.

But there's at least one reason to be wary of this approach: Price's office consulted with the private military lobby as it crafted the legislation, which has the industry's strong endorsement. Perhaps that's because MEJA has been for the most part unenforced. "Even in situations when US civilian law could potentially have been applied to contractor crimes, it wasn't," observed P.W. Singer, a leading scholar on contractors. American prosecutors are already strapped for resources in their home districts—how could they be expected to conduct complex investigations in Iraq? Who will protect the investigators and prosecutors? How will they interview Iraqi victims? How could they effectively oversee 100,000 individuals spread across a dangerous war zone? "It's a good question," concedes Price. "I'm not saying that it would be a simple matter." He argues his legislation is an attempt to "put the whole contracting enterprise on a new accountable footing."

This past fall, taking a different tack—much to the dismay of the industry—Republican Senator Lindsey Graham, an Air Force reserve lawyer and former reserve judge, quietly inserted language into the 2007 Defense Authorization, which Bush signed into law, that places contractors under the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ), commonly known as the court martial system. Graham implemented the change with no public debate and with almost no awareness among the broader Congress, but war contractors immediately questioned its constitutionality. Indeed, this could be a rare moment when mercenaries and civil libertarians are on the same side. Many contractors are not armed combatants; they work in food, laundry and other support services. While the argument could be made that armed contractors like those working for Blackwater should be placed under the UCMJ, Graham's change could result in a dishwasher from Nepal working for KBR being prosecuted like a US soldier. On top of all this, the military has enough trouble policing its own massive force and could scarcely be expected to monitor an additional 100,000 private personnel. Besides, many contractors in Iraq are there under the auspices of the State Department and other civilian agencies, not the military.

In an attempt to clarify these matters, Senator Barack Obama introduced comprehensive new legislation in February. It requires clear rules of engagement for armed contractors, expands MEJA and provides for the DoD to "arrest and detain" contractors suspected of crimes and then turn them over to civilian authorities for prosecution. It also requires the Justice Department to submit a comprehensive report on current investigations of contractor abuses, the number of complaints received about contractors and criminal cases opened. In a statement to *The Nation*, Obama said contractors are "operating with unclear lines of authority, out-of-control costs and virtually no oversight by Congress. This black hole of accountability increases the danger to our troops and American civilians serving as contractors." He said his legislation would "re-establish control over these companies," while "bringing contractors under the rule of law."

Democratic Representative Jan Schakowsky, a member of the House intelligence committee, has been a leading critic of the war contracting system. Her Iraq and Afghanistan Contractor Sunshine Act, introduced in February, which bolsters Obama's, boils down to what Schakowsky sees as a long overdue fact-finding mission through the secretive contracting bureaucracy. Among other provisions, it requires the government to determine and make public the number of contractors and subcontractors (at any tier) that are employed in Iraq and Afghanistan; any host country's, international or US laws that have been broken by contractors; disciplinary actions taken against contractors; and the total number of dead and wounded contractors. Schakowsky says she has tried repeatedly over the past several years to get this information and has been stonewalled or ignored. "We're talking about billions and billions of dollars—some have estimated forty cents of every dollar [spent on the occupation] goes to these contractors, and we couldn't get any information on casualties, on deaths," says Schakowsky. "It has been virtually impossible to shine the light on this aspect of the war and so when we discuss the war, its scope, its costs, its risks, they have not been part of this whatsoever. This whole shadow force that's been operating in Iraq, we know almost nothing about. I think it keeps at arm's length from the American people what this war is all about."

While not by any means a comprehensive total of the number of contractor casualties, 770 contractor deaths and 7,761 injured in Iraq as of December 31, 2006, were confirmed by the Labor Department. But that only counts those contractors whose families applied for benefits under the government's Defense Base Act insurance. Independent analysts say the number is likely much higher. Blackwater alone has lost at least twenty-seven men in Iraq. And then there's the financial cost: Almost $4 billion in taxpayer funds have been paid for private security forces in Iraq, according to Waxman. Yet even with all these additional forces, the military is struggling to meet the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

demands of a White House bent on military adventurism.

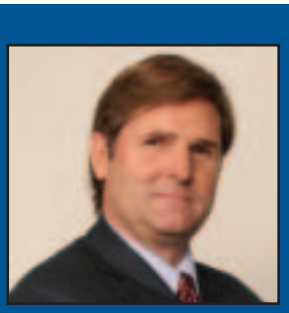
A week after Donald Rumsfeld's rule at the Pentagon ended, US forces had been stretched so thin by the "war on terror" that former Secretary of State Colin Powell declared "the active Army is about broken." Rather than rethinking its foreign policies, the Administration forged ahead with plans for a troop "surge" in Iraq, and Bush floated a plan to supplement the military with a Civilian Reserve Corps in his January State of the Union address. "Such a corps would function much like our military Reserve. It would ease the burden on the armed forces by allowing us to hire civilians with critical skills to serve on missions abroad when America needs them," Bush said. The President, it seemed, was just giving a fancy new title to something the Administration has already done with its "revolution" in military affairs and unprecedented reliance on contractors. Yet while Bush's proposed surge has sparked a fierce debate in Congress and among the public, the Administration's increasing reliance on private military contractors has gone largely undebated and underreported.

"The increasing use of contractors, private forces or as some would say 'mercenaries' makes wars easier to begin and to fight—it just takes money and not the citizenry," says Michael Ratner, president of the Center for Constitutional Rights, which has sued contractors for alleged abuses in Iraq. "To the extent a population is called upon to go to war, there is resistance, a necessary resistance to prevent wars of self-aggrandizement, foolish wars and in the case of the United States, hegemonic imperialist wars. Private forces are almost a necessity for a United States bent on retaining its declining empire."

With talk of a Civilian Reserve Corps and Blackwater promoting the idea of a privatized "contractor brigade" to work with the military, war critics in Congress are homing in on what they see as a sustained, undeclared escalation through the use of private forces. "'Surge' implies a bump that has a beginning and an end," says Schakowsky. "Having a third or a quarter of [the forces] present on the ground not even part of the debate is a very dangerous thing in our democracy, because war is the most critical thing that we do."

Indeed, contractor deaths are not counted in the total US death count, and their crimes and violations go undocumented and unpunished, further masking the true costs of the war. "When you're bringing in contractors whom the law doesn't apply to, the Geneva Conventions, common notions of morality, everything's thrown out the window," says Kucinich. "And what it means is that these private contractors are really an arm of the Administration and its policies."

Kucinich says he plans to investigate the potential involvement of private forces in so-called "black bag," "false flag" or covert operations in Iraq. "What's the difference between covert activities and so-called overt activities which you have no information about? There's no difference," he says. Kucinich also says the problems with contractors are not simply limited to oversight and transparency. "It's the privatization of war," he says. The Administration is "linking private war contractor profits with warmaking. So we're giving incentives for the contractors to lobby the Administration and the Congress to create more opportunities for profits, and those opportunities are more war. And that's why the role of private contractors should be sharply limited by Congress." ■



MIKE PAPANTONIO
Courtroom Warrior

ROBERT F. KENNEDY JR.
Environmental Hero

RING OF FIRE
Progressive Radio
at its Hottest

Find your local station at
ringoffireradio.com

AIR AMERICA RADIO

Or tune to
XM channel 167
866-389-FIRE

www.TheNationMart.com
NationMart
ONE STOP SHOPPING FOR EVERYTHING NATION

Now offering BOOKS by your favorite Nation authors at discounts up to 75% off

Support The Nation with each purchase.
T-shirts, coffee mugs, buttons & more.
GREAT GIFTS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE MURDER OF A 14-YEAR-OLD SPARKS ACCUSATIONS OF 'ETHNIC CLEANSING.'

The Smog of Race War in LA

ROBERTO LOVATO

CAITLIN DOVER

These days, Chris Bowers wakes up every morning to a vivid reminder that crossing borders can get you killed in South LA's Harbor Gateway area. Just outside the fence in front of his rented stucco house on Harvard Boulevard is a silver scooter, an assortment of dried flowers and a dozen candles bearing religious messages written in Spanish and English—a makeshift memorial to Cheryl Green, the 14-year-old whose murder last December by members of the 204th Street Gang sparked accusations of Latino "ethnic cleansing" of African-Americans. "There were two of them," says Bowers, a 22-year-old college student and high school football coach. "They came up and shot off one shot. They looked confused, and then shot off the rest of the rounds." Jonathan Fajardo, 18, and Ernesto Alcarez, 20, members of 204th Street, have been charged with gunning down Green as she stood with her scooter talking to friends. Police say they had been seeking a black person to kill.

After greeting a friend who drives by in a beat-up suburban, Bowers, whose dreads and ready smile give him a Marleyesque air, looks south and says, "From 207th down, blacks and Latinos get along; people drink beer together, kids skate and play with other kids. You see black and Latino interracial kids. People kick it together. It's a real community."

Then he looks up the street toward the ramshackle Del Amo Market—one of the few stores on the twelve-block strip that is Harbor Gateway—an establishment that 204th Streeters forbid black people to enter. "But over there, that way, no," he says. "You don't really see many black people over there."

Though he gets along with most people on either side of the invisible line and has a Latina girlfriend, Bowers himself must be vigilant of those policing the racial borders up the street. "Even I don't go to the store," he says, "'cause I might get shot."

Bowers and most African-Americans and Latinos living in Harbor Gateway and other poor neighborhoods that are home to LA's 700 gangs and 40,000 gang members—the largest concentration of gangs in the world—increasingly find themselves trapped as unwilling gladiators in a zero-sum, black-versus-brown game, one broadcast as if it were a sporting event.

In these graffiti-filled, job-emptied neighborhoods, and in the media, receptivity to simplistic race war rhetoric appears to grow in direct proportion to the speed and intensity with which globalization, migration and economic dislocation remake the City of Angels. The rise of Latino power in LA, most recently displayed in the electoral victory of Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa in 2005 and last year's 2 million–strong immigrant rights march downtown, has taken place just as the once-powerful African-American community has watched its numbers and influence rapidly dwindle. (LA's 428,000 African-Americans now account for less than 11 percent of the city's population.) In the minds of some African-Americans, Latinos, especially poor immigrants, have replaced white racism as the primary cause of the disappearance of LA's robust black middle class in once-great black suburbs like Compton, built on a foundation of industrial and government jobs and reflected in the election of black officials like Mayor Tom Bradley. Since the end of the Bradley era, after the '92 riots announced that everything and nothing had changed in black LA, many explanations for black displacement have arisen—some of which cast the ascendant Latino majority in a role formerly reserved for whites who fought the rise of black power.

"Latinos who happen to be gang members are trying to push African-Americans out of that [Harbor Gateway] area," says the Rev. Eric Lee, president of the LA office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, as he sits at a desk flanked by portraits of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. "This is more dangerous than what the Ku Klux Klan was doing. More dangerous because it's coming from people in the same socioeconomic situation. The Harbor Gateway killings were based on racial, not gang-on-gang, violence."

Lee refers approvingly to one of the more controversial pieces about the Green killing, a January op-ed in the *Los Angeles Times* by Tanya Hernandez, a law professor at Rutgers University. Hernandez's commentary links the murder to anti-black racism imported by immigrants from Latin America. Her claim that the murder is "a manifestation of an increasingly common trend: Latino ethnic cleansing of African Americans from multiracial neighborhoods" has become a clarion call for many local African-American leaders and has been widely circulated through African-American websites, blogs and newspapers.

Minutemen and anti-immigrant websites like VDare seized on this narrative for their own purposes, denouncing the racism of the Green murder with claims like, "Many Hispanic gang-bangers are illegal aliens. Increasingly, Hispanic gang members kill random blacks to drive them out of the area—ethnic cleansing." (Black Minuteman Ted Hayes has announced a March 25 rally in downtown LA to "stop ethnic cleansing of US black citizens by illegal aliens.") Conservative think tanks such as David Horowitz's Freedom Center then intellectualized the hysteria—as did some of their progressive counterparts. A front-page story in the *Intelligence Report*, a publication of the anti-racist Southern Poverty Law Center, sounded the alarm that blacks were becoming a besieged minority amid LA's ethnic strife. The article described

Roberto Lovato, a frequent Nation *contributor, is a New York–based writer with New America Media. He is a former president of the Los Angeles County Human Relations Commission.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pain in the back leads innovative businessman to create a new wallet design.

When Michael Lyons visited his local chiropractor with severe lower back pain three years ago, he didn't expect the medical advice he was given: "Lose your wallet," his chiropractor told him. The doctor explained that sitting on a solid inch of plastic, leather, and paper over the years had contributed to his patient's back problems.

Skeptical at first, Lyons took his doctor's advice. After a week of sitting without a wallet in his back pocket, his lower back pain disappeared. But then a new problem arose—he still needed a way to carry his license, currency, and business cards around. Lyons looked at the wallets currently available and didn't like any of them. So he made one of his own.

After reviewing some 200 wallet patents, Lyons realized that every design was based on a traditional rectangular or square shape. He decided to try something else, and after testing various materials and different angles, he developed an ultra-thin, curved design that matched the contour of a pant's front pocket. Lyons took his "front-pocket wallet" prototype back to his chiropractor for advice. Lyons knew he had hit upon something big when his doctor immediately ordered a large number of wallets to sell to his clients.

Based upon this feedback the Rogue Wallet Company was started. "While its shape is unique, it's real attribute is that it creates comfort by eliminating the ergonomic problems caused by sitting on a traditional wallet," claims Lyons.

The Rogue Wallet is now available through *first*STREET with our exclusive home trial. Try it for yourself, and if you are not completely satisfied for any reason, simply return it within 90 days for a full refund of the product purchase price, "No Questions Asked." Call today.

Rogue Wallet

Item # ZR-4928 . . . . . **$29.95** + S&H

Please mention promotional code 32953

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day

1-800-449-1575

We accept all major credit cards, or if you choose, you can pay by check with ClearTran™

To order by mail, please call for details

*first*STREET for Boomers and Beyond™

1998 Ruffin Mill Road
Colonial Heights, VA 23834

www.firststreetonline.com

All rights reserved. © 2007 TechnoBrands®, Inc.

49281

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a "sort of gang-life fatwah" that "amounts to a standing authorization for Latino gang members to prove their mettle by terrorizing or even murdering any blacks sighted in a neighborhood claimed by a gang loyal to the Mexican Mafia."

Some of these narratives may not have intended to exacerbate racial tensions, but lobbing terms like "ethnic cleansing" into LA's racial landscape has proven neither accurate nor useful. Their intensity may have helped provoke interracial fights in public schools in the wake of Green's murder (human relations officials were deployed to quell conflicts), and they have certainly eclipsed discussion of the less spectacular drivers of racial tension and the rapid growth in gangs.

Rather than deal with gangs and racial tensions comprehensively, as an expression of overcrowded schools, unemployment and the utter failure of urban development policies in pre- and post-riot South LA, the preferred approach here has been "suppression." Most resources for addressing gang violence go not to drug prevention, counseling and job development but toward surveillance, armed sweeps, mass arrests for minor offenses and the criminalization of everything perceived as gang-related, from graffiti to tattoos. This punitive approach is reinforced by gang injunctions and laws facilitating increased incarceration. Gangs and racial tensions provide the LAPD with a raison d'être, an opportunity to redeem itself as an army of good soldiers in a "war" on gangbanger "superpredators" dividing and terrorizing communities.

'Latino gang members are pushing African-Americans out,' says one civil rights leader. 'This is more dangerous than the Klan.'

Police Chief William Bratton marched into his new job in 2002 calling for a "war on gangs" and gang "terrorists." After drawing fire from community groups, Bratton tamped down his language, but his policies have been impervious to important insights like those offered in a just-released evaluation of the city's antigang efforts, funded by the City Council. Led by eminent civil rights attorney Connie Rice of the Advancement Project, the study examined the role of twelve city departments, from police to social services, and concluded, "After a quarter century of a multi-billion-dollar war on gangs [$80 billion, according to Rice], there are six times as many gangs and at least double the number of gang members in the region." The report calls for a major overhaul of gang policy that balances suppression with a more comprehensive program that includes appointment of a "gang czar" and unprecedented funding increases for cash-starved prevention and intervention programs.

Bratton has seized on recent racial incidents as an excuse to resurrect his gangs-as-terrorists frame and legitimize the LAPD's militaristic suppression strategies. Following a February 7 keynote address at an international conference on gangs, he announced a "new" gang strategy. But it seemed strangely familiar: "abatement" of the 204th Street Gang and creation of a "most wanted" gang member list. Bratton rallied his audience of law-enforcement leaders by declaring that "the capabilities and abilities of the gangbangers and gangs is every bit as destructive to democracy and our way of life as the global and national terrorism that we're experiencing."

When applied to black-Latino relations, the hyperbolic talk of "ethnic cleansing" and "terrorism" sounds a dissonant chord among the actual residents of Harbor Gateway, like Green's mother, Charlene Lovett. Sitting in the kitchen of her apartment, in front of a large picture of a smiling Cheryl and a colorful sign with the word FRIENDSHIP atop dozens of signatures of her daughter's Latino, Samoan and African-American friends, Lovett says that truth has become another casualty, singling out one CNN story for its agonizing inaccuracy. "It enrages me to see how the reporter made it into a 'gang on gang' story, that Latinos are striving to be better than black people in the area. That didn't have anything to do with what actually happened. My daughter was not part of any gang." After pausing to regain her composure, Lovett adds, "If anyone is targeting black people it's the gangs, not all Latinos. We get along, but you don't see them reporting that." Since losing her daughter, Lovett has attended peace rallies with Latinas like Beatriz Villa, who only days before the Green murder lost her brother-in-law, Arturo Ponce, to what witnesses say was a black gunman who yelled an anti-Mexican epithet.

Arturo Ybarra, director of South LA–based Watts Century Latino Organization (WCLO), points out another misapprehension. "I've been there talking with those gangs [in Harbor Gateway]," he says. "They're not immigrants. They're not Mexicans. Most of the members are not even the children or the children of children of immigrants. They're mostly a Chicano gang. It's absurd how people start making the connection between the [Green] killing and saying that immigrants are stealing jobs and want to kill African-Americans."

Facts on the sidewalk tell an even more granular story. African-Americans in certain neighborhoods have become the targets of some gangs. But the Green and Ponce murders turn out to be isolated incidents in a county of 10 million. Police reports and county records indicate that between 2002 and 2005 only one African-American was killed by a Latino in what authorities identified as a racially motivated incident. (There was also the attempted murder of some Latinos by African-Americans.) There were no racially motivated murders at all in 2004 or 2005. That Southern Poverty Law Center article detailing the "racist terror campaign" afflicting black residents of LA's Highland Park actually centers on a crime that took place in 2000.

Lost in it all is a sad but fundamental fact of life in poor Los Angeles: Most violent crimes, most murders, most attempted murders, most gang killings are intraracial. In one of the most comprehensive studies of LA homicides to date, University of California, Irvine, researcher George Tita tracked 500 killings that occurred between 1999 and 2004 in the 77th Precinct, which covers an area north of Harbor Gateway and Watts and is one of most violent precincts in the county. He found that 94 percent of African-Americans were killed by other African-Americans and 77 percent of Latinos there were killed by other Latinos. Tita says there is a recent "uptick" in racially motivated killings, "but it makes absolutely no sense to ignore all the other homicides because of these rare events."

Analyzing this violence through the lens of racism is useful as

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

long as it doesn't blot out another crucial factor: the economic strip-mining of greater LA. Most of the bloodletting takes place in a dead sea of empty lots created by the deindustrialization of South LA, which lost 70,000 jobs between the Watts and Rodney King riots, years that also saw the explosion of gangs—and gang suppression units. Though the Harbor Gateway murder took place in the shadows of the steel cranes looming over the harbor's gargantuan ports, people prefer to talk about bullets and blood instead of jobs and globalization. The ports generate half a million jobs, but few young people in South LA can get them. One Harbor Gateway resident told me that his neighbors view the port as a "gated community," where "you have to know somebody to get in."

Instead, many of the young African-Americans and Latinos swept up by the LAPD (450,000 minors have been arrested over the past ten years) will likely only see the port from jail cells, like those of the gigantic new Harbor police station being constructed across the street. In this area surrounded by miles of streets bereft of parks and social service organizations, the jail is what passes for community development.

"Gangs grow in low-income areas where there's no support for family and community," says Alex Sanchez, a former gang member who now directs Homies Unidos, a gang-violence-prevention project that works with youth in South LA. "Most gangs come from disenfranchised communities, and these communities have lacked resources they need for a long time—recreation centers, parks, entertainment, an educational system, good housing, good-paying jobs. Some parents have two or three jobs and can't give attention to their kids. Gangs fulfill the need for respect, attention, being taken into account, *camaraderia*."

Villaraigosa once said he would emphasize prevention. Now he wants to 'make violent street gangs public enemy number one.'

Sanchez, who has helped broker gang truces and has received numerous awards for promoting racial harmony between blacks and Latinos, is walking, talking and protesting testimony to the fact that, under the right conditions and with sufficient resources, there are alternatives to gang life and the racial tensions it fosters. But he too has run up against the LAPD's great wall of suppression. In 1999 and 2000, LAPD antigang units surveilled, raided, arrested under false pretenses and beat up Sanchez and other members of Homies Unidos. These attacks were later detailed in reports about the Rampart scandal, which exposed to the world how LA's generously funded antigang units perpetrated the very extortion and violence they were supposed to suppress. These units fomented racial strife, too, by routinely picking up gang members from one neighborhood and dropping them off in territory controlled by another.

Sanchez argues that this combination of suppression, sensational media coverage and sentencing laws that make it easy to jail minors is what fuels racial tensions. "Suppression means more overcrowding in the jails and more gang tensions," he says. "Then if a young person watches the media, where they're bombarded by messages about racial conflict, they're going to see issues between gangs as issues of blacks and Latinos."

Robin Toma, executive director of the LA County Human Relations Commission, has also witnessed the way police and prison policy can stir LA's caldron of racial hatred. "I was in Harbor Gateway when there were racial tensions in 1997," Toma recalls. At that time African-Americans, including black gangs, were moved by housing authorities from nearby San Pedro into mostly Latino Harbor Gateway. Police responded with arrest dragnets and a "surge" strategy reminiscent of the Iraq War. "We had limited social investment from city leaders," Toma says. "Many kids were picked up and thrown in jail, and now they're older and angrier and coming onto the streets. Their biases spill into the schools. Addressing social problems with incarceration and policing that focuses solely on suppression is a proven failure."

Antonio Villaraigosa, LA's first Latino mayor in more than a century, indicated early on that he would take a different approach, signaled by his first high-profile event as mayor-elect: a visit to a school where more than a hundred black and Latino students clashed in May 2005. Unlike his predecessors, the mayor has been vocal about expanding the discussion of gangs and racism to include socioeconomic forces and has voiced interest in a comprehensive "prevention, intervention and suppression" strategy. In March he proposed a budget increase for youth employment programs that would add 7,500 jobs to the 2,500 now provided. Still, the political and financial heart of his antigang strategy has been a continuation of all-cops-all-the-time, an approach that has endeared him to the same white suburbanites who have voted to cut billions in funding for schools and inner-city social services.

Villaraigosa fought for and got funding for 1,000 more police officers last year, some of whom will be dedicated to gang suppression. We want to "make violent street gangs public enemy number one," he said at a press conference following the Green murder. This intensification of the war on gangs comes despite contrary recommendations of countless blue-ribbon panels over the years—the McCone Commission following the Watts riots, the Christopher Commission following the Rodney King beating, the Webster Commission following the riots of 1992, the reform recommendations following the Rampart scandal—that have all urged an end to the practices documented most recently in a 2006 report on police reform: "erroneous arrests…coercive interview tactics, evidence suppression or planting by officers, alarmingly flawed investigations and police perjury." The Rampart scandal report echoed recommendations that have been made for decades, most notably transitioning from "suppression policing" to "problem solving policing," which builds community relationships.

Given the nonstop PR campaign to soften the noirishly tough image of the LAPD, Villaraigosa's prioritization of suppression has the effect of reinforcing the worst aspects of an institution that is notoriously resistant to change. If Villaraigosa doesn't act rapidly on calls to break City Hall's addiction to suppression, the question will arise as to whether he can make a difference for South LA's poor African-Americans and Latinos.

"Having a lot of Latino elected officials in Los Angeles doesn't mean we get the attention Latinos need down here," says Arturo Ybarra from the WCLO office in one of the weed-infested lots still littering post-riot South LA. "We're still aban-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

doned because of a lack of political leadership."

As one of the few visible Latino leaders in South LA, Ybarra, an immigrant from Mexico, organizes events like an African-American–Latino Cinco de Mayo parade. (The holiday may be one reason school hate crimes spike to their highest levels each May, according to the County Human Relations Commission.) He says he feels a deep responsibility to voice what others prefer to remain silent about. "The whole area is majority Latino immigrants, and most of the people elected to office are black officials," he says. "Most of the infrastructure in South LA—the senior centers, the youth centers, childcare—are led and managed by African-Americans. Some are doing excellent work with Latinos—and some are not."

Asked how he thinks the city can meet its racial and gang challenges, Ybarra points to programs like conflict resolution, job training and diversity awareness that helped him and other Watts residents overcome racial tensions in Nickerson Gardens and other historically black housing projects. "We need to deal with racial issues," Ybarra says. "We need to deal with the effects of violence. But we also need to deal with the economic roots, the urgent need for jobs, training, building cultural understanding and programs for reintegration into society after prison."

But the approach favored by Ybarra may be too expensive for a city that, in 2005, spent $25.8 million on gang prevention and intervention programs and $56 million on gang suppression—not including more than $1 billion spent on policing, by far the largest line item in the city budget. The study of gang policies Rice produced for the City Council estimates that to develop a basic prevention and intervention network in one cluster of high schools reaching 22,323 people, the city would have to spend $56 million per year. Rice estimates that it would therefore cost upward of $1.3 billion a year to create the employment, education and violence prevention programs needed to reach the 300,000 young Angelenos the report says are at risk of joining gangs.

But given the report's estimate that in 2006 gangs cost the city more than $2 billion in damage to victims and property, Rice argues that LA can ill afford *not* to spend on its youth. To move beyond what Bratton likes to call the "war on gangs," she says, "Los Angeles needs a Marshall Plan to end gang violence." ■

LETTERS
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)
leaving their homeland and families south of the border. The hypocrisy of the xenophobes should be pointed out. DOUG ZIMMERMAN

Cloverdale, Calif.

■ "The game until now has been an elaborate choreography among the employers who need the immigrant workers, the immigrants who want these jobs, the communities who need them, the cattlemen who depend on them and the government whose basic motto has been: Don't ask, don't tell," says an immigrant advocate. The employers don't "need" the immigrant workers. The corporations profit from paying coolie wages to the illegals. The communities certainly don't need them. Many communities are hard-pressed to deal with the exploding immigrant population. The cattlemen depend on the immigrants the same way the corporations do. The cheap labor is a source to be exploited. Product prices would increase if corporations were forced to pay fair wages to US citizens to perform unsavory or labor-intensive jobs. I, for one, would gladly pay more for products made in this country, by citizen labor.

PHILIP RATCLIFF

Seaid Valley, Calif.

■ Marc Cooper calls the use of a stolen Social Security number a victimless crime. My daughter-in-law had her application for low-income medical benefits denied because she had too much income. Her Social Security number was being used by a man in another county. Although it was obvious that this was not her income, she is the one who has to establish her identity, fight to retain her health benefits, apply for a new SS number and wait a year because of the backlog. Perhaps Cooper would be so kind to extend his medical benefits to her. DAVID EISENBERG

Los Angeles

■ As a Chicano, here are my credentials: •grew up supporting the UFW boycotts •family participated in the East LA walkouts •union family •fought in Nica/Honduras against the *contras* •worked to sue the US at the World Court •worked for peace/human rights in El Salvador/Guatemala •worked with Los Angeles to pass a sanctuary ordinance for activists in Central America •director of programs dealing with the homeless, gangs, welform, kinship, etc. Enough said. Any *illegal* alien in this country is a disgrace, a criminal and needs to be sent back to their country of origin. My grandparents came here from Mexico legally. It took many years, but they didn't break in and demand services, Spanish, etc. M. BARRERA

Denver

■ Marc Cooper did an excellent job of describing the political landscape here in Colorado. We have entered into a new era in this state. Any police officer who "suspects" that someone is an undocumented immigrant may now take that person into custody and hold him until his documentation is verified. What exactly would you base that suspicion on in a country full of immigrants?

As a nation, if we want different results we had better start doing different things. Our trade policies, our loan policies and our foreign aid dollars continue to reward corrupt and inhumane governments, creating the economic and human disasters that spur immigration. It is time to recognize the reality of immigration. A sane, just, rational system must replace the one we have now. The only way to secure our borders and establish order is to create a system that respects human rights and economic reality. JENNIFER PIPER

NO RIVER RUNS THROUGH IT

Rohnert Park, Calif.

■ There was an erratum in your erratum! In your February 5 correction of the location of the 1976 Republican National Convention, you described Kansas City, Kansas, as being "across the river" from Kansas City, Missouri. Wrong! Both Kansas Cities are on the south bank of the Missouri River. There is the Kansas River, a small tributary that flows in from Topeka to the west, but it divides Kansas City, Kansas, in two rather than the two Kansas Cities from each other. The only thing between Kansas City, Kansas, and Kansas City, Missouri, is a line on a map. RICK LUTTMANN

We hope Kansas City (Missouri)'s native son—our Deadline Poet, Calvin Trillin—does not get wind of our indiscretion. —The Editors

CORRECTION & CLARIFICATION

■ In Ari Berman's "K Street's Favorite Democrat" [March 19], Milton Datsopoulos's last name was misspelled.

In Mark Green's "How to Fix Our Democracy" [March 12], the word "effectively" was cut from a reference to African-Americans getting the vote in 1965. African-American men did officially get the vote in 1870; but they "effectively" won that right with the 1965 Voting Rights Act. We thank our many alert readers who wrote in to take issue with us.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS

Made in USA

PERRY ANDERSON

THE BEST INTENTIONS: Kofi Annan and the UN in the Era of American World Power.
By James Traub.
Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 442 pp. $26.

KOFI ANNAN: A Man of Peace in a World of War.
By Stanley Meisler.
Wiley. 372 pp. $30.

Of all postwar institutions in the public eye, the United Nations has probably yielded the poorest literature. With the exception of two lucid studies of its foundation, Robert Hilderbrand's *Dumbarton Oaks* (1990) and Stephen Schlesinger's *Act of Creation* (2003), each the work of a serious diplomatic historian, little or nothing of analytic interest exists about the organization, which has proved a kind of intellectual sinkhole, down which swirl the drearily self-serving memoirs of its onetime functionaries and mind-numbing pieties from assorted well-wishers in the universities. There is a reason for the peculiar deadness of this output. The UN is a political entity without any independent will. If we set aside its specialized agencies, most of which perform useful practical services of one sort or another, the core of the institution—that is, the General Assembly and Security Council—is a legitimating, not a policy-making, apparatus. Decisions reached by the organization are in essence embellishments of the relationships of power operative at any given time. Virtually by definition, where legitimation alone is at stake, the quotient of euphemism and mystification on all sides will be very high. So, predictably enough, it has been with the United Nations.

Readers approaching James Traub's *The Best Intentions: Kofi Annan and the UN in the Era of American World Power* and Stanley Meisler's *Kofi Annan: A Man of Peace in a World of War* thus have reason to expect the worst. But though in some ways the expectation is amply fulfilled, in others the two books—each by a journalist—cast more light on the UN than is normally allowed to fall on it. The purpose of both is straightforward: to offer an oleograph of the former Secretary General for public devotion. Here *The Best Intentions* is unbeatable. Kofi Annan, writes Traub, is "the gentle, kindly African with the silver goatee and the rueful, yellowing eyes," "the UN official nonpareil," "perhaps the most popular figure ever to occupy the office," embodying "modest charm and moral gravity," "the most gracious of men," who—not least—would "usually greet me with a big smile and a roundhouse handshake, a kind of domesticated soul gesture," and "rarely failed to ask after my wife, my son, and my parents."

Kofi Annan's career opens a revealing window onto the cozy relationship between the United Nations and the United States.

Yet modest as Annan is, he courageously "embraced his celebrity," becoming "something quite new in the history of the UN: a spokesman for mankind who looked wonderful in a tuxedo," plunging into "the social whirl" with a wife who—"like him, quiet, composed, profoundly gracious"—had "the same aura of simple goodness." Together they offered a captivating spectacle: "Kofi and Nane, both enormously attractive and disarmingly modest, the one short and black and the other tall and blond, made for a dazzling couple; they projected a kind of moral glamour." Meisler too dwells on Annan's status as a "social star of New York society," dining and partying three times a week. But disavowing psychology, he otherwise makes do with such comparatively humdrum passages as: "I tried to analyze why the secretary-general's words so often seem eloquent. He speaks simply in short sentences that sparkle with clarity and never jar because of a slip in grammar. His measured tones have a slight cadence. His use of words is

Perry Anderson teaches history at the University of California, Los Angeles.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

subtle yet careful. He never postures. And, most important, he projects an air of sincerity that could not possibly be faked."

Fawning of this sort is no doubt in part payment for access. Annan invited Traub to sit in on his meetings and travel with him on his trips, speaking to him "regularly and candidly." Meisler tells us that the Secretary General "helped me immensely by passing the word to associates and friends that this project has his blessing," though fifteen years of intimacy with his press officer, Fred Eckhard, unique among his kind as one who was "completely incapable of spinning," knowing only "how to hand out the truth in all its nuances," was of no small assistance too. But, on venturing further into each work, it becomes plain that such effusions are also there in compensation for what the authors are obliged en route to divulge. In effect, the further the image from reality, the more strained and cloying it becomes.

The facts of Annan's career are clear enough, and in practice neither writer casts much of a veil over them. The academically ungifted son of a manager for Unilever in colonial Ghana, he was spotted as likely material by a scout for the Ford Foundation and dispatched to Minnesota to study economics at a local college. There, Traub explains, he learned something of more lasting value: "Annan himself had become persuaded of the merits of capitalism, and of the American way generally." Perhaps with this in mind, the Carnegie Foundation got him to the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, where he failed to take any degree, leaving instead for a low-level job in the World Health Organization. For the next twenty years, he gradually moved up the bureaucratic ladder in the UN system, with a stint at MIT to acquire management lore, finally landing a post in the services department of the Secretariat in New York in the early '80s. From there, shortly before the Clinton Administration came to office, he edged his way toward the number-two position in the department for "special political affairs," with subordinate responsibility for the Middle East and Africa. When Washington pressed for UN troops to be sent into Somalia, his superior opposed the mission. Annan took the American line. His chief was duly ousted, and Annan was put in charge of all peacekeeping operations, as they were now called, in February 1993.

A year later, in January 1994, he received an urgent cable from Roméo Dallaire, the Canadian lieutenant general in charge of the UN force in Rwanda, warning him of impending slaughter of the Tutsi population in the country and explaining he planned to intervene by raiding Hutu arms caches. Not only did Annan refuse to allow any measures to be taken to stop the unleashing of genocide; he insured that the fax informing him of what was in store did not reach the Security Council. Approximately 800,000 Tutsis died in the ensuing massacre. Measured by consequences, the culpability of Kurt Waldheim, exposed for concealing his service as a Nazi intelligence officer in the Balkans, was puny by comparison. Annan remained quite unmoved until it became too impolitic to deny any remorse. The extent of his contrition is summed up by all he would say to Traub, after a long pause, about his part in the fate of Rwanda: "In retrospect, and this is also the culture of the house, we should have used the media more aggressively, and exposed the situation for them to see. Of course, at that time this organization was media-shy." Read: Don't blame me, I'm the one who became media-friendly. As banalizations go, Arendt might have had some words for it.

Far from being an impediment, however, Annan's performance regarding Rwanda was in a way a condition of his further ascent. The Clinton Administration, gearing up for intervention in the Balkans, was determined not to allow any distractions over killings in Africa to deflect public attention from Bosnia—where the scale of death, though high, was neither proportionately nor absolutely near that in Rwanda. But strategic interest, not to speak of skin color, made the region altogether another matter. As a Pentagon memorandum about Rwanda put it at the time: "Be Careful. Legal [department] at State [department] was worried about this yesterday—Genocide finding could commit USG [the US government] to actually 'do something.'" Clinton and Albright, naturally, did nothing. When, on the other hand, they pressed the button for action in Bosnia in the summer of 1995, Annan sprang to life and, at Albright's request—without consulting Boutros-Ghali as Secretary General—he authorized NATO to start heavy bombing of Serb positions. This was the alacrity that made him. Boutros-Ghali, although a former foreign minister of Mubarak's regime in Egypt, one of America's most loyal client states, had riled Washington with an increasing lack of deference, dragging his feet over Bosnia and talking too much about Africa. By the time his mandate came up for renewal the following year, the Clinton Administration was determined to oust him and parachute Annan into his place. The most valuable sections of Traub's book, as of Meisler's, describe how this was done.

Within a few months of Annan's green light in Bosnia, a team of top officials in Washington, headed by Albright, was working on a secret plan, Operation Orient Express, for a coup at the UN. As America's designated candidate, Annan was, of course, party to the scheme. In the Security Council itself, Boutros-Ghali was supported by every member state, with the exception of the United States, which vetoed him. Seven ballots later and following tireless pressure by Albright, every state except France had realized, as Traub remarks, that "there was no percentage in blocking the will of such a powerful figure." Decisive was Washington's ability to call Russia to heel, bypassing its foreign minister for direct instructions to Yeltsin, on whom it could rely for submission. Once the Russian vote had been pocketed, France caved in, and Annan was home and dry.

Satisfaction in Washington was unconcealed. For Albright's assistant James Rubin, the UN now had a Secretary General able "to understand the importance of cooperation with the world's first power." More pointedly still, another of the architects of Orient Express, National Security Council officer Robert Orr, explained: "Very few secretaries-general had worked with the U.S. military. Here we were in an era where the U.S. military was going to be a big part of the equation. You needed a secretary-general who understands that the U.S. military is not the enemy." Or more tersely: "Kofi could do it." Annan duly did it. When NATO launched its aerial attack on Yugoslavia in the spring of 1999 over Kosovo, in patent violation of the UN Charter, the Secretary General, far from condemning the action of the United States and its allies, informed the world that it was legitimate. For services like these—he "courted the wrath of the developing world by rejecting anticolonialism in favor of moral principles cherished in the West"—he was much feted and, not surprisingly, awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

The invasion of Iraq, however, would pose a severer test. Annan had presided over the sanctions regime without a qualm and not demurred at Operation Desert Fox, the four-day bombing campaign Clinton oversaw in 1998. When the Bush Administration began its push for war with Resolution 1441, which declared Iraq in material breach of all past resolutions on its disarmament, Annan swung into action to pressure all members of the Security Council to vote for it, personally phoning Syria's President Bashar Assad to insure that there would not be a single abstention. Unanimity was secured, but a hitch arose at the next stage. The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

French told the White House that while they could not accept a second Security Council resolution explicitly authorizing an attack on Iraq, which would implicate them, they had no objection to a US invasion based on an American interpretation of 1441—the course that Cheney was urging within the Administration. But Blair, who wanted to join in the attack, insisted that a second resolution was necessary to protect him from criticisms at home, and got Powell's support for a futile attempt to circumvent a French veto in the Security Council. Such mutual hypocrisies put Annan in an awkward spot. Blessing the Balkan War was one thing: In 1999, the West was united in the attack on Yugoslavia. But now the West, to all appearances, was divided. What should he do? If only the French had come round, we learn, all might have been well. "He would have accepted, and perhaps even embraced," Traub tells us, "a resolution authorizing war so long as the council was firmly united behind it." But unity was not forthcoming, and an embrace remained out of reach. Operation Iraqi Freedom rolled ahead. In March 2003, "shock and awe" hit Baghdad.

Annan, aware that his inspectors had failed to come up with any evidence of WMDs in Iraq, the pretext for war, and that his own position would be weakened by an attack that opened up a line of division between the United States and leading Western allies, indicated his unhappiness at this unfortunate turn of events, but he refrained from condemning the invasion—which, having endorsed an identical bypassing of the Security Council over Kosovo, he was anyway scarcely in a position to do. Once Iraq was conquered, however, he hastened to the assistance of the occupation, for which Bush and Blair wanted backdated cover from the UN. In May, at Annan's urging, the Security Council ratified the Anglo-American seizure of Iraq, voting unanimously for Resolution 1483, which endorsed Bremer's Coalition Provisional Authority, and pledged that the UN would play a "vital role," as requested by the White House and Downing Street, in helping it out. Rice and Powell had already chosen the functionary in the Secretariat they wanted for the job, Sergio Vieira de Mello, its human rights commissioner. Vieira de Mello was reluctant to go, but an audience was arranged with Bush, and Annan dispatched him. On arrival in Baghdad, Vieira de Mello's task was to help Bremer arrange a puppet advisory body to give the Anglo-American armies a local facade. "Over the course of six weeks, he persuaded reluctant leadership figures to identify themselves with the American regime" and got Bremer "to change the name of the body to the more dignified Governing Council (even though it remained powerless)." Traub goes on: "This was just what Annan had had in mind when he argued for a serious role for the UN."

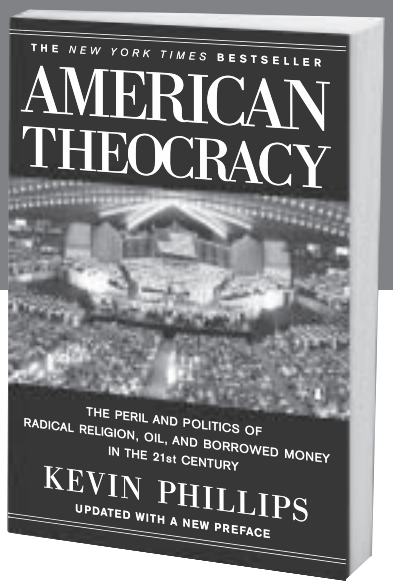
Inevitably, the bid to create a network of collaborators for the occupation made Vieira de Mello a target for retribution by the Iraqi insurgents. In August, in politically the single most effective strike of the war, he and his staff were obliterated by a truck bomb. Annan, who had sent them to their death, did not flinch. To the incredulity even of intimates and the fury of subordinates, so determined was he to do his duty by Bush and Blair that he refused to withdraw the UN mission from Baghdad. It took another bombing, a month later, for him to change his mind and pull UN personnel out of the country. But his commitment to providing cover for the occupation had not altered. Within a few months Lakhdar Brahimi—Algeria's foreign minister at the height of the voided elections and military repression of 1991–92—was dispatched to Iraq as Annan's special representative, in the hope that he could repeat his performance of stitching together a client regime for the United States in Afghanistan. Brahimi got out alive, but his mission was no more successful than Vieira de Mello's, ending in the humiliation of having to announce that the CIA's Iyad Allawi, picked by the United States, would lead the new Iraqi democracy. Allawi lasted less than a year in his position.

Back in the West, cornered by a reporter from the BBC, Annan was in the end forced to admit, under repeated questioning, that the invasion of Iraq was illegal—"if you wish," he grudgingly added. How little he wished it could be seen from a poignant *lapsus* in the same interview. Asked if he was "bothered that the United States is becoming an unrestrainable, unilateral superpower," Annan replied: "I think in the end everybody is concluding that it is best to work together with our allies." Our allies. Identification with the United States could not be more innocently complete.

Annan ended his tenure lowered by scandal, when it was revealed that his son Kojo had received a rake-off of some $450,000 for helping to fix up the Swiss-based company Cotecna with an inspection contract under the Oil for Food program attached to the sanctions regime against Iraq. Annan, denying any knowledge of the contract, hired Clinton's defense counsel in the Jones-Lewinsky affair to ward off charges of corruption. The Volcker Commission, set up by Annan to investigate profiteering from

THE *NEW YORK TIMES* BESTSELLER

"An indispensable presentation of the case against things as they are." —*Time*


THE NEW YORK TIMES BESTSELLER
AMERICAN THEOCRACY
THE PERIL AND POLITICS OF RADICAL RELIGION, OIL, AND BORROWED MONEY IN THE 21st CENTURY
KEVIN PHILLIPS
UPDATED WITH A NEW PREFACE

NOW IN PAPERBACK
updated with a new preface

"A harrowing picture of national danger that no American reader will welcome, but that none should ignore."
—*The New York Times Book Review*

"Everyone should have access to what *American Theocracy* so powerfully tells us about our country at this critical time." —*Chicago Sun-Times*

Also available from Penguin:
American Dynasty

Penguin Books
A member of
Penguin Group (USA)
www.penguin.com

Also available from Penguin Audio

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Oil for Food program, was obliged to look into the matter. Despite the incontestable fact that Annan had met with Cotecna executives, one of whom testified they had indeed discussed the UN contract with him and that documents had been rapidly shredded by one of Annan's confidants, Volcker—whose sense of establishment solidarity was not matched by an ear for literary meaning—concluded that the evidence that Annan knew of the contract his son had so coincidentally set up was "not reasonably sufficient": a formula in which the redundancy of the adverb destroys the denial of the adjective. For what would "unreasonably" sufficient be? Even sympathetic reporters like Traub and Meisler can hardly conceal their view of this verdict. Still, anyone who thinks Clinton told the truth about Paula Jones is entitled to believe Annan did so about Cotecna. It would, in any case, be unfair to judge a political record by such episodes. Annan was not personally greedy, and the venality at issue was trivial by comparison with the moral enormity of the sanctions themselves.

What is one to make of the career as a whole? Annan was never a strong figure, or an independent agent. As a UN bureaucrat, he obviously had his share of vanity and ambition, but it was probably no more, and in some cases less, than that of others. There is no reason to suppose his Americanism was purely calculating, a mere means of self-advancement. It belonged to his formation. He achieved high office as a creature of the Clinton Administration, with ties that swaddled him to the end. Although personally fond of Bush and Blair, he never had a comparable rapport with the Republican Administration, which lacked the same confidence in him. When he came under attack over the Oil for Food scandal, the Democratic coterie that had elevated him rallied round. The campaign was led by Richard Holbrooke, imposing the changes in Annan's entourage that were deemed necessary to save him. In fact, what is really striking about Annan's tenure as Secretary General is less his personal characteristics than the nature of his inner circle. From the start, it was overwhelmingly Anglo-American, with a sprinkling of figures from the Anglophone zones of the First and Third World—Canada, Pakistan, India, Gambia—trained, like Annan himself, in the United States. A token Frenchman. Not a Russian, a Chinese, a Japanese, even a German or Italian, in sight. The provenance of figures like Robert Orr, head of "strategic planning," lifted straight from the National Security Council in Washington, Louise Fréchette, Deputy Secretary General, dispatched from the Defense Ministry in Ottawa, or, lower down the scale, theorists of humanitarian intervention from Harvard and Princeton like John Ruggie and Michael Doyle, speaks for itself.

But since the real work of the UN is the manufacture not of actions but of legitimations, the two key figures were the set's ventriloquists, who wrote the speeches and articles furbishing the Secretary General with his rhetorical image—much needed, since Annan's own powers of expression were wooden in the extreme. This pair, Edward Mortimer and Nader Mousavizadeh, came from the *Financial Times* and *The New Republic*, respectively. Not surprisingly, Annan's various pronouncements, applauded for their eloquence by like-minded colleagues across the West, were little more than lofty versions of editorials in these publications, whose political profile needs little specification. Mortimer, from a high clerical background in England, was a founder of the International Committee for a Free Iraq along with Ahmad Chalabi. Relations between them remained sufficiently close, Meisler tells us, for Chalabi to tip him off in advance of the Oil for Food affair. Mousavizadeh, editor of *The Black Book of Bosnia*, though technically a Dane, "was essentially American"—so says Traub—"and, like Ruggie, could not view international law as the *summum bonum*." Later, Mousavizadeh was elected a Global Leader of Tomorrow by the World Economic Forum in Davos, where Ruggie once conducted Annan as "the first Secretary-General to speak to the annual conclave of capital." Mousavizadeh now adorns Goldman Sachs, presumably pending higher things.

The UN's real work is the manufacture not of actions but legitimations, providing a democratic veneer to decisions made by others.

Few episodes are more revealing of the part played by this Anglo-American duo than the way in which the world came to learn that NATO's blitz on Yugoslavia in 1999 was legitimate. Annan, unsure how to react, had to be manned up by his mentors to issue the absolving words. Rejecting a first draft submitted to Annan that expressed regret at the outbreak of war, Mortimer and Mousavizadeh handed him their own document, lauding the attack, to sign. According to Traub, "Mortimer says that when he delivered the new version, Annan gazed at it fixedly and finally said, 'This is the most difficult statement I have had to make as secretary-general.' And then he agreed to issue the statement."

In his second mandate, floundering in the Oil for Food crisis, Annan was summoned by Richard Holbrooke to his residence on the Upper West Side for a secret meeting, attended by Orr, Ruggie and Mousavizadeh, and three other Democratic insiders. There Annan was enjoined to fire unwanted colleagues and accept a more competent minder in the shape of Mark Malloch Brown, a former journalist for *The Economist*—whose main claim to fame was to have been campaign manager for Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, a Bolivian ruler so hated by the population for his neoliberal zeal and subservience to Washington that he had recently had to flee the Presidential Palace by helicopter, and make for Miami. Without a murmur, Annan accepted him as the power in front of the throne. Holbrooke was pained that news of the arrangement had leaked out. "The intention was to keep it confidential. No one wanted to give the impression of a group of outsiders, all of them Americans, dictating what to do to a secretary general." Impressions, apparently, are everything.

Schematically—simplifying a mottled tale—there have been three distinct periods in the history of the UN. The organization was from its inception an American creation, as Stephen Schlesinger has shown in abundant and admiring detail, the product of Roosevelt's vision of a postwar world in which the USSR and Britain would retain delimited spheres of influence within an international order whose overarching power would be the United States. Its founding conference at San Francisco was meticulously controlled and choreographed by Washington, with a special unit of US military intelligence in the Presidio intercepting all cables to and from the assembled delegates, the FBI tracking their movements on the ground and a large bloc of Latin American satellites assuring majorities when issues were put to the vote. Soviet compliance was purchased with promises of noninterference in Eastern Europe and a watered-down right of veto in the Security Council. With its headquarters planted in New York, where surveillance would be permanent, and a large majority of members—principally European and Latin American—at the beck and call of Washington, the UN, whose first

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sunday:
Dinner with Richard Dreyfuss

Monday:
Q and A with Ralph Nader and Liza Featherstone

Tuesday:
Ogling the Hubbard Glacier next to Mark Hertsgaard

Wednesday Night:
At the blackjack table with Victor Navasky

Thursday:
Cocktails with Katrina vanden Heuvel

What's going on here?
Did you die and go to heaven?

Nope,
you're on The Nation's Alaska Cruise!

10th ANNUAL SEMINAR CRUISE— JULY 28-AUGUST 4, 2007

DEPARTING FROM SEATTLE
TO BOOK YOUR CRUISE OR FOR MORE INFORMATION GO TO:

WWW.NATIONCRUISE.COM
OR (888) 833-4339
groups@the-cruise-authority.com

SOME OF YOUR SHIPMATES:

Katrina vanden Heuvel
Nation editor and publisher

Victor Navasky
Nation publisher emeritus

Ralph Nader
Consumer advocate, lawyer and author

Rocky Anderson
Mayor of Salt Lake City

Gary Younge
Nation contributing editor and author of *Stranger in a Strange Land*

Patricia Williams
Nation "Diary of a Mad Law Professor" columnist

Liza Featherstone
Nation contributing editor and author of *Selling Women Short*

Doug Henwood
Editor of *Left Business Observer* and author of *After the New Economy*

Mark Hertsgaard
Nation environment correspondent and author of *Earth Odyssey*

Richard Dreyfuss
Academy Award winning actor and education activist

Robert Scheer
Nation contributing editor and editor of Truthdig.com

Mary Mapes
Peabody Award-winning CBS News producer and author of *Truth and Duty*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Secretary General, Trygve Lie, even illegally collaborated with the FBI in purging his own staff, was an all-but-infallible decoration of the American will. For more than twenty years, the United States never had to cast a single veto in the Security Council, so relentlessly did its resolutions coincide with whatever Washington wanted. The landmarks of the UN in this period were approval of the creation of Israel (the Jewish third of the population was allocated more than half the territory of Mandate Palestine by Ralphe Bunche, the "ghost-writing harlot," as he described himself, of the UN plan for partition, which was rammed through the General Assembly by the United States with every bribe and blackmail at its disposal); provision of a flag of convenience for American intervention in the Korean civil war, checked short of complete victory only by Chinese entry into the conflict; and induction of Mobutu Sese Seko's dictatorship in the Congo, after Hammarskjöld and his American advisers had connived at the murder of Patrice Lumumba.

Decolonization, multiplying new member states from the Third World, brought such unimpeded utilization of the UN by the United States to an end. The General Assembly resolution of December 1960, calling for independence of the colonies—the United States, in the company of Britain, France, Belgium, Spain, Portugal and South Africa, refused to vote for it—marked the dusk of European imperialism. In the Middle East, Israel's pre-emptive war of 1967, on the pretext of Cairo's request that UN forces, ensconced in Egypt ever since it was victim of the three-way attack by Britain, France and Israel in 1956, finally exit the country—naturally there were none on the Israeli side of the border; why should the aggressor put up with any?—was a turning point for Arab opinion. In Southeast Asia the Tet offensive of 1968 emboldened opposition to American power across the Third World, and a group of seventy-seven ex-colonial countries started for the first time to offer organized resistance in the UN. The belated seating of the People's Republic of China in 1971, to Washington's fury—this was before Nixon's visit to Beijing—amid scenes of wild rejoicing in the chamber, made it clear that the General Assembly had escaped American control.

The first US veto had been cast shortly before, in defense of Ian Smith's racist regime in Rhodesia. Since then, in a complete reversal of the pattern of the previous period, the United States has vetoed more than eighty resolutions in the UN, many of them critical of Israel, others of South Africa, and not a few of its own actions in Nicaragua and elsewhere—products of the conjunction between the Soviet bloc and Third World in the 1970s and '80s. The acute dislike of the UN on the American right, lingering to this day, dates from these years. Unlike the first phase of UN history, however, this second phase was for all practical purposes an exercise in futility. There was no risk of the United States suffering an Israel, Korea or Congo in reverse. Washington was not going to be ambushed, as Moscow had been more than once, in a structure it had itself designed. The United States remained master of what the UN could do, however many impotent resolutions were passed in the General Assembly or proposed to the Security Council and then killed by it. No UN decisions of any significance mark these decades. In the resultant limbo, symbolic gestures like the denunciation of Zionism as a form of racism made do instead.

This period came to an abrupt end in 1990, with the disintegration of the Soviet bloc and the collapse of the USSR the following year. As late as 1989 the United States—along with Britain and France—had to veto a resolution condemning the American invasion of Panama. By early 1991 the Gulf War could be launched with Soviet assent and Arab participation, under cover of a deliberately vague Security Council resolution, passed with just one abstention. Victory in the cold war, knocking the USSR out of the ring, and the concomitant eclipse of nationalism by neoliberalism in the Third World, henceforward gave the United States more thoroughgoing real power over the UN than it had enjoyed even at the height of its postwar ascendancy, since it could now rely on the compliance, tacit or express, of Russia and China with its imperatives. Annan's Secretariat was one product of this change. The multiplication of UN peacekeeping missions in the '90s, offloading policing tasks of lesser strategic importance for the American imperium was another.

Paramountcy does not mean omnipotence. The United States cannot count on always securing UN legitimation of its actions *ex ante*. But where this is wanting, retrospective validation is readily available, as the occupation of Iraq has shown. What is categorically excluded is active opposition of the UN to any significant US initiative. A Security Council resolution, let alone a Secretary General, condemning an American action is unthinkable. Ban Ki-moon, whose appointment required Chinese assent, may keep a lower profile than Annan, but his role is unlikely to be very different. The US grip on the organization has not relaxed, as can be seen from recent UN resolutions on Lebanon and Iran, which the White House could never have obtained so easily before. Anxious voices from liberal opinion, worrying that the organization might become irrelevant if Bush's "unilateralism" persists, and plaintive appeals from the left to defend the UN from distortion by Washington, are regularly heard today. They can be reassured. The future of the United Nations is safe. It will continue to be, as it was intended to be, a serviceable auxiliary mechanism of the Pax Americana. ■

Take the Money and Run

STEVE FRASER

ANDREW CARNEGIE. By David Nasaw. Penguin Press. 878 pp. $35.

MELLON: An American Life. By David Cannadine. Knopf. 779 pp. $35.

At the height of the Gilded Age, in 1883, William Graham Sumner, the foremost exponent in America of Herbert Spencer's philosophy of social Darwinism, asked a very good question: The Yale professor wanted to know *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other*. Virtually nothing, beyond a modicum of everyday courtesy, was his blunt conclusion. "A free man in a free democracy," Sumner proclaimed, "has no duty whatever toward other men." On the contrary, every man's duty was to take care of himself; all else amounted to a kind of insidious sentimentality. (His exact words were "the next pernicious thing to vice is charity.") Andrew Carnegie and Andrew Mellon were true believers in social Darwinism. Carnegie was a devoted acolyte and great friend of Spencer's. Mellon's father, Thomas, was a social Darwinist *avant la lettre*, and his scrupu-

Steve Fraser is the co-editor of Ruling America: A History of Wealth and Power in a Democracy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lously dutiful son remained loyal to the creed till the day he died—and that would be in 1937, long past the time when many, even of his own class, had abandoned ship.

They were hard, implacable men, relentless in their pursuit of profit, human engines of capital accumulation. Carnegie and Mellon, although born twenty years apart (in 1835 and 1855, respectively), were founding members of Matthew Josephson's "robber baron" generation of American capitalists (a ripe metaphor actually invented by Kansas Populists). They come down to us as "captains of industry." In fact, Carnegie was above all a salesman and Mellon a banker. While they presided over great industrial empires—iron, steel, coal and coke in Carnegie's case; steel and coal but also aluminum, oil and aeronautics in Mellon's—they left matters of actual production to managers, engineers, scientists and technicians who knew a great deal more about such things. Still, the penumbra of muscular ruthlessness that attaches itself naturally to our image of the industrial tycoon is an apt characterization of both men, although in a purely physical sense an improbable one. Both were tiny people, Carnegie rather cherubic and elfish, Mellon more dour and gnome-like.

Big questions about wealth, power and democracy echo in the background of these two new artfully constructed but constrained biographies, sounding like the residual hum given off by the Big Bang. Sometimes, as in Cannadine's brilliant portrait of the clannish solidarity of Pittsburgh's Scotch-Irish industrial gentry, or in Nasaw's nuanced treatment of Carnegie's approach-and-avoidance relationship with the Republican Party's high command, this background radiation becomes more visible. Both authors, however, stay close to the particulars of their subjects' private and public lives. They do this because that is what biographers are supposed to do, but also perhaps because we live in a time that seems reluctant to engage a frame of reference once more or less taken for granted: one that probed the relationship between personality and social class, and that questioned how American political democracy evolved alongside enormous concentrations of power and wealth.

One senses the presence of Matthew Josephson's 1934 classic *The Robber Barons* hovering somewhere offstage. Historians have exorcised his ghost more than once. He wrote when the struggle of "the classes against the masses" seemed a self-evident fact of political and social life, when the viability of capitalism was in serious ques-

Jewels worthy of a czarina…

Faux Fabergé Egg Pendants
the Set only $79.90*

**But read this ad for an even better deal!*

• *Each Fabergé Egg measures 1-5/8" x 7/8" and comes with a 24" gold-plated chain. They are adorned with 22-kt. gold-plated filigree and Austrian Swarovski crystals – just about the closest thing to real diamonds!*

Czar Nicholas II kept master jeweler Carl Fabergé busy producing gorgeous jeweled eggs, to be worn around the necks of the czarina and the princesses. We have replicated these priceless jewels so as to be virtually indistinguishable from the fabled originals. Each **Egg** is heavily enameled, covered in 22-kt. gold-plated filigree, and adorned with Austrian Swarovski crystals, just about the closest thing to real diamonds. The **Eggs** come with individual 22-kt. gold-plated 24" chains, and are boxed in a red-velvet/white-satin presentation case.

We are one of the few select distributors of these beautiful jewels in the United States and are therefore able to bring them to you at this extraordinary price. Order the **Set** of all three stunning colors (red, green and purple) for only $79.90! **But we have an even better deal:** ***Buy two Sets (six* Eggs*) for $159.80 and we will send you a third* Set *(another three* Eggs *– nine* Eggs *altogether) with our compliments* – absolutely FREE!**

Get this stunningly beautiful jewelry for yourself or for the woman in your life. She will be delighted, and that's a promise. Be smart–order the **Faux Fabergé Egg Pendants** today!

You may order by toll-free phone, by mail, or by fax and pay by check or Visa/MasterCard. Please give order code shown. Add $6.95 s/h for one Set of three Eggs and $9.90 for three Sets (nine Eggs altogether) and sales tax for CA delivery. You have 30-day refund and one-year warranty. We do not refund postage. For customer service or wholesale information, please call (415) 356-7801.

Please give order code Y808

jomira
division of jomira/advance
470 Third Street, #211, San Francisco, CA 94107

✆ Order by toll-free phone: (800) 600-2777 or (fastest!) by fax: (415) 356-7804 ✆
Visit our website at www.jomira.com

WWW.THENATIONMART.COM

Nation Mart

CHECK OUT THE NEW TOTE BAGS

ONE-STOP SHOPPING FOR EVERYTHING NATION

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion and its moral status had hit rock bottom. We live in a new age often embarrassed by such antiquated notions of class struggle, one that may be critical of capitalism but stops short of seriously imagining an alternative. In such an atmosphere Josephson's analysis of Gilded Age robber barons (and the work of others who wrote during the first half of the twentieth century) seems simplistic, which it sometimes was, unsubtle in its analysis, insensitive to the complexities of democratic politics and the nuances of personality. Over the last decade and more a series of biographies and histories of this formative period in American capitalism have provided more balanced accounts of their subjects, exhaustively detailed but conceived within a more circumscribed horizon, constrained, if only implicitly, by the triumph of democratic capitalism. These two biographies of Carnegie and Mellon are the latest and the most accomplished of such work, wonderfully executed and deeply informed, yet intellectually inhibited.

When Carnegie and Mellon were coming of age, American society was still in the throes of creating a new structure of authority. Market society and capitalist industrialization carried with them a different foundation for the exercise of authority, one that no longer inhered in individuals (a feudal lord, for example) but rather in the alleged lawfulness of the system of exchange itself. It was the system that seemed natural, hence legitimate, and so commanded allegiance. No person, no matter his or her ostensible influence over daily life, could be held accountable for whatever relations of domination and inequality might result from the inexorable operations of the system. Carnegie and Mellon, whatever their vast differences in upbringing and personality (which these biographies make so vivid), were nonetheless, in their instinctive adherence to this way of looking at and behaving in the world, fundamentally alike.

Both men were creatures of "the system." As one can glean from Sumner's social Darwinian summa, this system was not merely a form of political economy; it aspired to be a cosmology. Its influence extended over the whole social order, infusing not only the political culture but higher education, the press, mainstream religion, even the manners and mores of "society." Although Carnegie and Mellon were human, the system was not. It was inhuman, or perhaps more to the point, it was nonhuman, faceless. "Inhuman" suggests a normative indictment. And laissez-faire capitalism during the Gilded Age came in for plenty of that, condemned for its immorality and cruelty by victimized farmers and workers and smaller businessmen, by outraged journalists, novelists, preachers and even, now and then, a President or two. More inscrutable than the system's moral obtuseness, however, was its matter-of-fact implacability. Eerily impersonal, the economy was presumed to operate like some gigantic clockwork, according to its own ingenious mechanics, its designer unknown but beneficent. For "captains of industry," not to mention their legions of admirers, this amounted to a faith in immaculate social evolution, free of human agency, absolved of all personal responsibility—a theology of economic deism. One either acted in conformity with the revealed laws of economic progress or else.

In the Gilded Age, laissez-faire capitalism was condemned by farmers, workers and even, now and then, a President or two.

Mellon and Carnegie did more than conform. They were architects of the new order; pathfinders when it came to fashioning gigantic forms of industrial production and organization; innovators when it came to financing these undertakings; and resolute defenders, in the realm of politics and ideas, of this new American dispensation of power and wealth. All this they shared, yet they went about their work in quite different ways because as human beings they couldn't have been more unalike. This is where Nasaw's and Cannadine's biographies are at their best, depicting these two primeval capitalists in all their contradictory complexity.

A first-generation, desperately poor Scottish immigrant, Carnegie was utterly devoted to his mother, who held the family together when they moved to America. Out of deference to her implied wishes, he stayed single until she died, when he was well into middle age. But he maintained an uncharacteristic reticence about his father, a dispossessed hand-loom weaver with Chartist sympathies and radical relatives and associates, whose failure to find regular work in the New World and apparent mental depression over his fate were matters about which his son may have been embarrassed, disappointed, guilty, all or none of the above; Nasaw does not exactly say.

If railroads were the signature enterprise of the early Industrial Revolution, steel assumed that role by the turn of the twentieth century. No man was more singularly associated with its rise than Andrew Carnegie, the creator of the largest, most technologically advanced and most productive and profitable steel manufacturing business in the world, the Carnegie Steel Corporation, headquartered in Pittsburgh, with its great mills fanning out across Pennsylvania's Monongahela River Valley. When he sold the company to J.P. Morgan in 1901, Carnegie Steel was the core of the world's first billion-dollar corporation—United States Steel.

Ironmonger and steelmaster he might have been, but he was hardly a glum, nose-to-the-grindstone one. Nasaw's Carnegie is a man of enthusiasms, and the author captures his ebullience in limpid prose, making his biography a delight to read. Carnegie was gregarious, effervescent and a social mingler who loved to entertain. Since much of his early business career was spent selling bonds (for railroads particularly, but for other businesses as well), these were traits worth cultivating. Indeed, he was a natural salesman, quick-witted, a fast learner, someone who mastered enough of the intricacies of iron and steel production, bridge-building and railroad construction to persuade skeptical investment bankers at home and abroad to take the plunge. In a sense, Carnegie remained a salesman for the rest of his life; but as time went on and his fortune grew, he went mainly into the business of selling himself.

Carnegie's energy was seemingly inexhaustible, powering his capital accumulation as well as his philanthropy. His ambitions were outsized and multivarious. Carnegie was intellectually curious, even omnivorous, in the way dilettantes often are. Not content to be the era's foremost industrialist and among its richest men, he harbored serious desires to become a man of letters, a writer or what we might today call a public intellectual. With that purpose in mind he sought out the company of notable intellectuals and became close friends with some: Matthew Arnold, Herbert Spencer and Mark Twain, in particular. Thanks to his family background and social Darwinist convictions, he had no use for religion; nor, stereotypical expectations notwithstanding, did he take much stock in the work ethic—he didn't think it applied to him or pretend that it did. He was a cosmopolitan who left the provinces of Pittsburgh, where his wealth originated, as quickly as he could to take up residence in New York, and traveled the world widely while maintaining a second home in a castle in Scotland. He immensely enjoyed being a public figure,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was a prolific author of books, essays and editorial commentary, and leapt at every chance to speak in public to burnish his reputation as a seer.

All of this fed and was fed by an abiding sense of self-importance, sometimes veering close to self-promotion. Carnegie aspired to public influence and was always putting himself forward as a statesman as well as a man of ideas. But in neither case was he taken with full seriousness. He was too rich and powerful to be ignored—far from it, he was a force to be reckoned with in the Republican Party; and when it came to practical matters like maintaining a high tariff on imported steel, Carnegie got his way. But while political potentates like William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt tolerated his pronouncements against American imperial designs in the Philippines (he was a founding member of the Anti-Imperialist League and considered the American expedition a waste of resources and lives and a serious breach of the nation's democratic credo) and his quixotic crusades on behalf of the arbitration of international conflicts, they made no real impression on the course of public affairs. So, too, the ideas that appeared in books like *Triumphant Democracy* and in the steel magnate's autobiography, while popular, consisted for the most part of patriotic platitudes and immigrant gratitude for America as the land of limitless opportunity, gussied up in bloated, pretentious prose. When he varied from this script, notably in his heterodox views that seemed to favor trade unions, it turned out he didn't mean it.

Most of all, though, Carnegie's double life as a capitalist accumulator and public benefactor—he was certainly the nineteenth century's best-known philanthropist—was marked by a titanic hypocrisy, fatuous self-congratulation and a superhuman capacity for evasion and scapegoating. The best-known instance of this was the great man's claim that he had known nothing about the plans to confront the workers at his Homestead plant with armed Pinkertons in 1892; that had he known, the horrors of Homestead would never have happened; that his frequently published professions of sympathy for the workingman, not to mention his own similar humble beginnings, proved that to be the case; that it was all the doing of the willful Henry Clay Frick, the CEO of the Carnegie operations, who kept the steelmaster in the dark about his belligerent intentions. Nasaw, whose view of Carnegie as a writer, thinker and public figure is probably more favorable than my own, nonetheless has no patience for this self-justifying, contemptible eyewash. A meticulous researcher, Nasaw demonstrates beyond any shadow of a doubt that Carnegie, his public professions to the contrary, had been working for years to crush the unions at his steel mills, and that he knew what was in store for the workers at Homestead. Long before the final bloody confrontation, Carnegie and Frick had prepared for it by constructing "Fort Frick," a barricade eleven feet high around the Homestead works, equipped with portholes for guns, giant searchlights and fireplugs to supply pressurized water, topped off by eighteen inches of barbed wire. With the battle raging, Carnegie cabled Frick: "All anxiety gone since you stand firm. Never employ one of these rioters. Let grass grow over works. Must not fail now." He and Frick were on the same page, a page inscribed with the iron laws of the marketplace, which insisted, on penalty of commercial extinction, that the costs of labor be relentlessly reduced.

Andrew Mellon was also on this same page; one might imagine them as co-headmasters of a parallel Carnegie-Mellon Institute, this one for the advanced study of the accumulation of capital. But in every other respect Mellon presents a very different face. He was a taciturn loner so painfully shy he was almost inaudible when forced to speak in public. He hated publicity (and suffered wretchedly from it during a protracted and lurid divorce). If not quite a recluse, he jealously guarded his privacy and kept to himself and a small circle of intimates. "Intimates" is itself a gross exaggeration, as he was apparently intimate with nobody. He was as cold as he was silent, like some Weberian caricature of a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian, self-abnegating, capital-accumulating homunculus.

Scotch-Irish he was, but unlike Carnegie, he was of the second generation and of higher social station. His father, Thomas, had already built up a formidable family business, dabbling in real estate (timber and coke properties especially) and other speculations, eventually founding a bank, the institution bequeathed to Andrew and his brother Richard, which would constitute the core of the Mellon empire for many years to come. If Carnegie's extroversion matched up well with his life as a bond salesman, so too did Mellon's reserve bespeak the banker. And just as Carnegie's mother was the omnipresence in the steelmaker's life, so Mellon's father, but even more decisively, loomed over his son's shoulder while he was alive (Thomas lasted into his 90s) and forever after, so much so that David Cannadine begins every chapter of his perceptive and

POLITICS & PARANOIA:
THE POLITICAL EXPLOITATION OF PARANOID ANXIETY

Noah Feldman, Todd Gitlin, Edith Kurzweil, Ashis Nandy, Avital Ronell, and Psychoanalysts from London, Paris, and New York.

Friday eve, March 30; Saturday, March 31 at NYU, Cooper Union. Info and registration: www.naap.org; (212) 741-0515.

National Psychological Assoc. for Psychoanalysis with the Asian/Pacific/American Institute NYU. $55. Students: $35.

ASGPP ANNUAL CONFERENCE

GIVE PEACE A CHANCE

April 26th - 30th, 2007
New York Marriott
at the Brooklyn Bridge
New York, NY

Community Consciousness, Inner Wisdom & Social Change

SATURDAY KEYNOTE SPEAKER:
AMY GOODMAN
Host & Executive Producer,
Democracy Now!
Award-winning news program airing on 500 radio and television stations

Fascinating Workshop Tracks: Creative Arts Therapies, Addictions, Trauma, Law, Mind-Body, Social Justice, War & Peace among others. **CEUs available.**

For a Brochure & Information:
www.myspace.com/asgppgivepeaceachance
American Society of Group Psychotherapy & Psychodrama
(609) 452-1339 / asgpp@ASGPP.org
www.ASGPP.org

SUPPORT OUR TROOPS
BRING THEM HOME NOW

"BRING THEM HOME" TEE #8063, SIZES S-3X
Products for Progressives since 1979.
Northern Sun Merchandising
T-SHIRTS • BUMPERSTICKERS • BUTTONS • CUSTOM PRINTING
CALL FOR A FREE CATALOG • 800.258.8579 XTN OR VISIT
WWW.NORTHERNSUN.COM

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

absorbing biography of Andrew with an epigram from Thomas's autobiography.

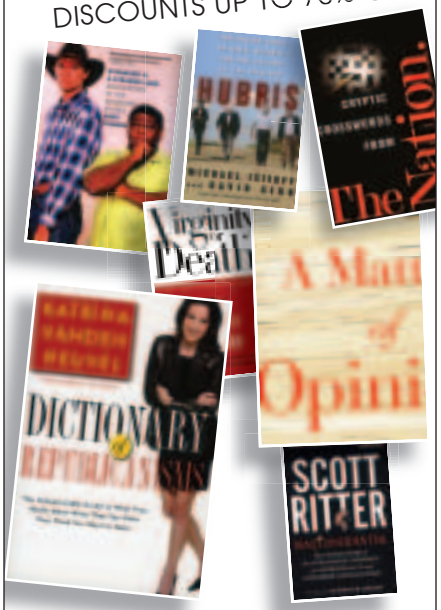
To say this is also to suggest that Mellon, for all his solitude, was a family man of a peculiarly dynastic sort and a provincial to the bone. So much of entrepreneurial capitalism in the nineteenth century tended to be dynastic when it succeeded, and Thomas set out deliberately to create just that: a Mellon dynasty. For Andrew, as for any Mellon patriarch, the family was synonymous with the family business; it always came first and also second, third and fourth, proscribing other interests. As a rich man Mellon traveled the world, and he lived well. But he felt most at home amid the Victorian grime and gloom of his Pittsburgh mansion; nothing like the baronial splendor of Carnegie's castle. He was fundamentally incurious about the wider world. Unlike his fellow Pittsburgher Andrew Carnegie, Mellon stayed close in body and spirit to his native city, a kind of overgrown burgomaster, one with a global reach but still rooted in his Pittsburgh demesne. Nor, in contrast to the other Andrew, was he much interested in books or ideas. He was a man of superficial education who had no reason or desire to remedy the deficit; his ideas were wholly conventional, the comfortable dogmas of the entitled class from which he hailed.

Late in life Mellon became a philanthropist (many have noted that in America the transition from robber baron to philanthropist was accomplished in a single generation; in this case it took two). The reasons he became one and the way he went about it also set him apart from Carnegie. Most visibly the latter plastered his name over every library, museum, concert hall and institution of higher learning he funded, while Mellon, in keeping with the self-conscious modesty of his Scotch-Irish upbringing, kept the family name out of it. People may not know, for example, that the National Gallery in Washington was financed by and stocked with paintings from Mellon's vast private collection. On the other hand, most of his fortune was dutifully handed down to his two children and assorted relatives in keeping with the family's dynastic mission. In that he was utterly conventional.

Carnegie, on the contrary, explicitly repudiated this customary practice and distributed most of his wealth, while still alive, to causes he considered worthy. In doing this he purported to open up a new road to social peace in a nation so fractious, so plagued by fatal standoffs between "the classes and the masses," it threatened to divide in two. The steel-master defended his deviant act in the only truly original work he ever wrote, *The Gospel of Wealth*. Here he condemns the common practice of amassing dynastic wealth (indeed, he went so far as to draw up a prenuptial agreement in which his wife-to-be acknowledged she wasn't going to inherit most of his money). Instead he makes a renegade argument—at first glance it comes across as a new social philosophy of democratic capitalism—that such wealth originates in the community, not in the herculean work ethic of lone individuals, and that it should therefore be returned from whence it came… albeit under special conditions: namely, that those like himself, blessed or burdened with these fortunes and the talent to manage them, should act as stewards or trustees for the whole society, deciding based on their evident wisdom where and how such wealth would be most beneficially deployed. But this smells more like a form of noblesse oblige, a kind of updated feudalism, than it does democratic capitalism. While aware of the contradiction, Nasaw might have more fully interrogated this notion of stewardship. He might have asked, as many did at the time: If wealth originated communally and was to be steered back in that direction, as Carnegie maintained, then shouldn't it be administered by public institutions expressing a more general consensus on how it should be used? Carnegie, at any rate, had formulated a kind of answer: "There are higher uses for surplus wealth than adding petty sums to the earnings of the masses," wealth likely to be "frittered away…in things which pertain to the body and not the spirit.… These are things external and of the flesh; they do not minister to the higher, the divine part of man."

Clearly Carnegie did not trust ordinary people to make the right decisions. His *Gospel of Wealth* takes for granted that he was equipped to articulate the general interest, a telltale feature of elite empowerment and the inbred sense of its right to rule. Moreover, Carnegie's idiosyncratic form of industrial feudalism comported well with his appetite for all the trappings of the Scottish laird, a life he lived with enthusiasm in medieval grandeur on his 40,000-acre estate in Skibo. All of this amounted to a tacit erasure of his father's radical and woebegone past, an effacement Nasaw never quite faces. Because of his unorthodox approach to philanthropy, his anti-imperialism and his unorthodox views on other subjects, Nasaw's Carnegie comes across as a maverick. But then the knotty question becomes, just what sort of maverick was Carnegie? This in turn raises the fundamental conundrum of authority and legitimacy in a capitalist democracy.

Cannadine, more than Nasaw, addresses this issue, but his argument is confusing. Andrew Mellon had no desire to lead a public life, content to be a banker's banker. Like Carnegie he took care of business, of course, and when this meant mucking about in Pittsburgh or national politics he knew how to make his weight felt; he was particularly partial to a high aluminum tariff to protect Alcoa's effective monopoly of the industry, and he got his way on this and many other practical matters. But he apparently harbored none of Carnegie's higher aspirations to statesmanship. Carnegie, for all his strenuous efforts, got nowhere. So it is especially surprising that Mellon, without a wannabe bone in his body, ended up serving as Treasury Secretary from 1921 to 1932, longer than anyone in the history of the country (or as Nebraska Senator George Norris once acidly

WWW.THENATIONMART.COM
Nation Mart
NOW OFFERING BOOKS BY YOUR FAVORITE NATION AUTHORS AT DISCOUNTS UP TO 75% OFF


Support The Nation with each purchase. T-shirts, coffee mugs, buttons & more.
GREAT GIFTS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

put it, "three presidents served under Mellon"). He was still presiding when the Great Depression hit, and he ended his public career drowning in a tsunami of ignominy.

In the case of Mellon's political elevation, one can at least say he was the perfect man for the job. His silence, like "Silent" Cal Coolidge's, lent a sacerdotal air and sense of assurance to a Jazz Age economy that soon enough lost its moorings in a long bout of inebriated speculation. The quintessential banker, he exuded normality and *bürgerlich* good sense, qualities presumably yearned for after the Great War and for which Mellon was lionized… and after all, who can resist being praised as the greatest Treasury Secretary since Alexander Hamilton? In the end, however, he paid a heavy price and should have stuck to the family plan. Summing up Mellon's public life, Cannadine is anxious to transcend the old polarities of progressive historiography—the robber barons versus the people. On the one hand, he tells us that Mellon's is a bygone era. The Secretary's unquestioning faith in the shibboleths of that time—the irrepressible nature of the business cycle; minimalist government; low taxes, especially for the wealthy; budget balancing; the unregulated free market; dogmatic hostility to organized labor; Olympian indifference to human suffering, or what we might call today the collateral damage accompanying industrial progress; and a presumptive preference for and trust in the rule of the business class—made up the credo of the ancien régime. This faith was shared by millions not so privileged, and nothing short of a national trauma could shake it.

Not only is this all behind us, but in the interests of transcendence, Cannadine credits Mellon's reign with great accomplishments, in particular with a fiscal policy that seemingly favored corporations and the well-off but actually insured national prosperity by encouraging productive investment. This is a charitable interpretation at best, a kind of bending over backward to be "balanced." (Cannadine does report Mellon's systematic use of his public office to benefit corporations he and his family controlled and to brazenly and repeatedly lie about that sleazy fact, but in the end he still seems to think of Mellon as a man of integrity.) Mellon's tax policy deliberately redirected capital away from tax-exempt securities, but Cannadine never tells us what public projects they might have funded. By the mid-'20s much of that liberated money in the hands of rich individuals and corporations was finding its way into the call market, fueling a stock market bubble that had nothing to do with productive investment, which is to understate the case. According to Cannadine, Mellon "rightly understood that what was good for business was ultimately good for America," an assertion Cannadine may believe is self-evident but to which coal and iron workers gunned down by Mellon's (or Carnegie's) private police would have taken exception. So, too, the Secretary's fatuous assurance that there was nothing fundamentally wrong with the economy long past the time when signs to the contrary were everywhere was damning: not only because it seemed to prove that on some level Mellon was a fantasist (and in a political sense he was acting like one) but also because it registered his dogged faith in the self-correcting nature of "the system," absolving him of any obligation to act even in the face of its breakdown.

EVENTS

NEW YORK

Blackwater

■ The Nation Institute Presents: Amy Goodman, host of *Democracy Now!*, will moderate a discussion with Jeremy Scahill, author of *Blackwater: The Rise of the World's Most Powerful Mercenary Army* (Nation Books), and *Nation* columnist Naomi Klein as they discuss the radical privatization of war and how it threatens American democracy. Private contractors operate in Iraq, Afghanistan and within the United States. Most people have never heard of Blackwater USA, but that is about to change. Join the discussion March 21, 7 PM. $10 suggested donation. A book signing of *Blackwater* will follow the event. New York Society for Ethical Culture, 64th Street and Central Park West, New York City. Co-sponsored by *The Nation*, *Democracy Now!* and the Public Concern Foundation.

Medicare Middleman

■ Tuesday, March 27, 7:30 PM. Physicians for a National Health Program-NY Metro invites you to "The Medicare Middleman Multiplication Act: What's Next for Medicare?" A forum with Robert M. Hayes and Laura Boylan, MD. Beth Israel Phillips Ambulatory Care Center, 10 Union Square East (between 14th and 15th streets), 2nd floor. New York City. Free. Info: pnhpnyc@igc.org, www.pnhpnyc.org or (212) 666-4001.

Amy Goodman

■ Conference on Creating Peace and Social Justice. New York Marriott at the Brooklyn Bridge in Brooklyn, New York. April 26–30. *Democracy Now*'s host Amy Goodman, Laura Chasin of the Public Conversations Project and Dr. Paul Epstein are just three of 150 outstanding speakers and trainers scheduled to present at "Give Peace a Chance: Community Consciousness, Inner Wisdom and Social Change," for the sixty-fifth annual meeting of the American Society of Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama. Featuring cutting-edge approaches to social issues. An opportunity to experience the power of action methods as a way to understand and address the compelling problems of our time—*e.g.*, effects of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan both overseas and here at home, a looming environmental crisis, socioeconomic injustice—which have real and direct consequences to the psychological and emotional health of individuals and communities. Trainers will present a range of experiential and instructional workshops delving into the interconnectedness of social and personal well-being; exploring creative action to improve lives; addressing ways to heal the psychic wounds of war and come to peace after grief and loss; and exploring treatment for child survivors of domestic violence and the treatment of addiction and trauma. Open to the general community and of particular interest to mental health professionals, educators, students, community organizers, activists, creative arts professionals and lawyers. Continuing education credits will be granted. Information: www.asgpp.org and www.myspace.com/asgppgivepeaceachance. (609) 453-1339.

Worker Education National Conference Call

■ Storming the Heavens: Worker education and social activism commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the CUNY Centers for Worker Education. A conference for labor scholars, educators, trade unionists, current and former worker-students. June 1–2, 25 Broadway, New York City. Proposals are welcome for papers, presentations and panels exploring the history, politics and contemporary significance of worker education in the US and abroad. Teachers, staff and students in worker education programs are encouraged to contribute to the discourse reflecting their institutional and personal experiences and social impact. Labor scholars and trade unionists are especially encouraged to attend and/or participate. www.workereducation.org (212) 966-4014.

Politics and Paranoia

■ The Political Exploitation of Paranoid Anxiety. Friday evening, March 30, and Saturday, March 31, New York University and Cooper Union. Speakers: Slavoj Zizek, Noah Feldman, Avital Ronell, Todd Gitlin, Edith Kurzweil, Ashis Nandy and psychoanalysts from England, France and America. Interdisciplinary conference discusses sociopolitical and affective control in arousing paranoid anxiety through manipulating the media to maintain power relations. Relevant sociopolitical, legal, media and psychoanalytic perspectives aim to elucidate processes of political paranoia in different societies. Organized by National Psychological Association for Psychoanalysis and Asian/Pacific/American Institute of NYU. For information, registration, fees, contact: www.naap.org (Annette Overby Conference). (212) 741-0515.

The advertising deadline for Events is every Thursday. Rates: $210 for 50 words; $260 for 75 words, additional words (above 75) $2.00 each. To place an ad, call Leigh at (212) 209-5414.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In any event, as Cannadine notes, this is all over and done with, swept away by the New Deal; Pennsylvania and Pittsburgh, for more than a half-century one-party provinces run by Republican factotums of the region's industrial elite, including the Mellons, became New Deal Democratic strongholds practically overnight. The Darwinian calculus of the old order, now made defunct by the Depression, was supplanted by a new one that weighed in on the side of social security, the rights of labor, regulation of business and economic redistribution. Just a few pages later, however, in what Cannadine calls a "Balance Sheet" of Mellon's life, he seems to revoke his earlier verdict that we can leave the divisiveness of the past behind us by treating Mellon's era as a bygone one. It turns out rumors of its death were greatly exaggerated and that most if not all of what old Andrew stood for and practiced is back with a vengeance and has been since Ronald Reagan assumed office. (The "Great Communicator" hung a portrait of Calvin Coolidge in the White House not long after moving in.)

Does this make sense? A "balance sheet" in which what's being weighed is there one moment and gone the next is hard to pin down. Cannadine is an accomplished historian. The spectral return of Andrew Mellon to our public life, which Cannadine duly observes both in the realm of ideology and of policy, appears to be just that, the return of the repressed. But because the New Deal came in between, things are more complicated. Mellon, Carnegie and their whole generation of primordial industrialists were propagating, and when necessary defending, an established political economy and way of life. Those who launched the conservative revolution that first achieved power under Reagan are, on the other hand, precisely that: revolutionaries, or rather counterrevolutionaries, who saw and still do see themselves as rebels intent on dismantling the whole institutional, political and moral infrastructure of the New Deal, which was after all the ancien régime of mid-twentieth-century America. When the captains of industry and finance lorded it over the nineteenth century, no one would have dreamed of calling them rebels, either against some overweening government bureaucracy or some entrenched set of "interests." There was no government bureaucracy to rebel against, and these men were themselves the "interests." People like Mellon, and yes, even Carnegie, worried about being overthrown, not about overthrowing someone else.

Mellon's devotion to the system he'd been born into never wavered. He offered his own chilling formulation of that ghastly faith as a way out of the Great Depression then settling over the country: "Liquidate labor, liquidate stocks, liquidate the farmers, liquidate real estate," he is reported to have advised Herbert Hoover, without rancor or regret, as if he were delivering a weather report. Likewise, Nasaw tells us that Carnegie was "not a cruel or uncaring man," that when he relentlessly drove down the cost of labor past all endurance, inciting the bloody confrontation at Homestead, he acted, as he saw it, only in obedience to the impersonal laws of the free market; to do otherwise would have been to jeopardize his firm's viability. One is tempted to adjudge Mellon a sociopath, Carnegie a sophist. Their biographers make a convincing case that their convictions were, for all that, genuine.

Genuine or not, as figures of authority in a democratic society, they aroused opposition that questioned the legitimacy of their power. Carnegie, along with George Pullman and others, sought to solve that crisis of legitimacy through forms of utopian paternalism of which *The Gospel of Wealth* and the model town of Pullman were the best-known examples. Carnegie sustained a Panglossian optimism under the most dismal circumstances. He told his fellow tycoons not to panic during the labor uprisings of 1886, convinced Americans enjoyed a long-term immunity from truly serious class antagonisms, and that in the end wiser heads like his own would prevail and guide a sometimes disorderly society to safety. Andrew Mellon never went down this road, nor did most other "captains of industry," but in any event utopian paternalism turned out to be a dead end. At the end of that road waited the coal and iron police, also a form of paternalism insofar as it assumed the prerogatives of the propertied, but one prepared to deal more harshly with disobedience to its precepts. For all his sunny-side-up philosophizing, Carnegie still found it in him to congratulate the city of Chicago for hanging the Haymarket anarchists, grimly proclaiming, "If you want to live in this country you must be quiet citizens or quiet corpses."

During a great coal strike at the turn of the century, George Baer, president of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, summed up the worldview of America's new industrial autocracy. "The rights and interests of the laboring men will be protected and cared for by the Christian men to whom God has given the control of the property rights of the country," Baer pronounced. For all their differences, the two Andrews could live with that. ■

Classified

While we reserve the right to edit, reject or reclassify any advertisement, The Nation *wishes its readers to know we don't have the facilities to check the promises made by our advertisers, and we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

ACTIVISM

COUNTDOWN TO 2008! www.sagacious-smartass.com.

ANCIENT SECRETS

PROOF JESUS FICTIONAL. Scholarly booklet conclusively proves Flavius Josephus (Romans) created fictional Jesus, authored Gospels. Amazing but absolutely incontrovertible! $10: Abelard, Box 5652-A, Kent, WA 98064. For details: SASE.

ASTROLOGY

TRANSFORMATIONAL ASTROLOGY. Readings with Dr. Craig. In person or by phone. Counseling for individuals and couples. www.LAhealer.com or (323) 208-1091.

BLOGS/WEB

WWW.FAMOUSWELSH.COM. www.jonesnyhistory.com.

STUDENTS—looking for a good study break? Visit *The Nation*'s new student web page at www.thenation.com/student. Here you can catch up on news from campuses around the country, request free magazines for your student events, contribute to a weekly online discussion board about controversial issues, read student-related *Nation* articles and keep abreast of upcoming *Nation*-sponsored student conferences, contests and public engagements.

BOOKS

WHAT IS BUSH'S LEGACY? See *Judgment Day*, new political thriller. "Reads like tomorrow's headlines." Order at: www.samperone.com.

BOTH TIMES IN BLOOD by Lynn Capehart. Dynamic woman prevents Native American tribe from being exploited by greedy Maltese politician. www.lulu.com/content/479080.

NAKED IN HAITI: A sexy morality tale about tourists, prostitutes and politicians. www.DanKingBooks.com.

DOGS

BULLDOGS FOR SALE. Strong, protective. Inquiries from serious people only. Old bloodlines. Puppies $300 + shipping. Call 10 AM–5 PM EST or leave a message. (256) 229-9609 or (877) 487-9985. No dog bred, raised or sold for illegal purposes! No dog sold in violation of the US Animal Welfare Act of 1976.

DONATIONS

WANT TO REALLY CONTRIBUTE TO YOUR ALMA MATER? Buy a class *The Nation* for a semester. If you know a professor who would like to offer free semester-length student subscriptions to her/his students, we'll offer you twelve or sixteen weeks at the lowest prices we charge anywhere. For information write: Classroom Education Program, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

FILM

DEPLETED URANIUM—documentary DVD studying deformed and dying Iraqi children harmed by US military weapons. $9. WILPF-Santa Cruz PO Box 61, Santa Cruz, CA 95063.

HOLISTIC HEALTH

AIR & WATER PURIFIERS, ionizers, germ masks, solar ovens, heaters, survival products and more. Free shipping. www.eHealthSupplies.com.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classified

LIBERAL LIAISONS

SENSUAL, STYLISH PHONE CONVERSATIONS with intelligence, humor and élan. Unrestricted, guaranteed discretion. Alexis (781) 581-9598.

EROTIC ADULT PHONE CONVERSATION with sensual, intelligent women. Any topic welcome! VISA/MC/AMEX. Call (888) 495-8255.

FETISHES AND FANTASIES fulfilled. Hot erotic talk with creative, sensuous woman. No limits. Personal, confidential. Call (866) 844-8286.

TAWNY FORD. Exquisitely erotic conversation. Live, personal, unhurried. (248) 615-1300. Credit cards, prepay. www.tawnyford.com.

YOUR SECRET is our secret. www.Secretsphonesex.com, (800) 344-2019.

EXPERIENCE KRIS AND EXPERIENCE THE DIFFERENCE. Escape and explore. Intelligent and sensual conversations. www.experiencekris.com.

GREENSINGLES.COM—Free photo ads for progressive singles in the environmental, vegetarian and animal rights communities. Searchable listings for friendship, dating, marriage. Since 1985. www.GreenSingles.com.

RECOVERING FANCY LADY LAWYER, 67, San Francisco, seeks progressive male companion, 35–55, for cultural and social justice events. Reply Nation Box 434.

PRETTY, PETITE, PROFESSIONAL WOMAN San Francisco Bay Area, seeks man 60–75, physically fit, sexually active, psychologically stable, politically informed, not religious or "spiritual" for short or LTR or occasional outings. Reply Nation Box 435.

36-YEAR-OLD MAN, incarcerated nineteen years, locked in but not locked out, thoughtful, sensitive, good listener seeking attractive, intelligent, warm-hearted lady for correspondence or more. Robert Webster #88B2162, PO Box 4000, Stormville, NY 12582.

FEMALE ARTIST & POET 50s, UWS, seeks serious, long-term relationship with a man who loves art and appreciates sharing all that is beautiful. Prefer someone in Manhattan. Age not important. Reply Nation Box 433.

NEW YORK LATIN AND GREEK LADY, earthy with a zest for life, looking for a man 55–62 to share life and the future. Reply Nation Box 436.

If responding to a Nation Box number, send replies to: Nation Box ___ , The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

MERCHANDISE

FROM THE CLASSIC CHE SHIRT to the most conscious feminist revolutionary tees, check out www.radicaljack.com.(866)936-4386

SUPPORT *THE NATION* AND OUR NATION! Shop online at www.thenationmart.com and exercise subtle and not-so-subtle dissent. Most items are union-made. Great gifts!

talk back tees

Liberal quotations, aphorisms and wit on colorful, cotton tees. $10.99 each. talkbacktees.com (800) 777-9242

MERCHANDISE

EXPRESS YOURSELF! Stickers, shirts, buttons, emblems and more—www.EvolveFISH.com. (800) 386-5846 for catalogue or to order now.

FREE BUMPER STICKER. Call (800) 630-1330 or see www.fcnl.org. Friends Committee on National Legislation.

I BARK FOR PEACE! Pet-themed T-shirts, hats, mugs, gift items for peace. www.pets4peace.org.

POSTAL SURPRISE! Original, mixed-media mail art. For three-month subscription, send $35 and address to ART, 2829 Kenwood Avenue, Richmond, VA 23228.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

EDITOR/COMMUNICATIONS DIRECTOR. The International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) is seeking an Editor/Communications Director who, under the direction of the ILWU officers, will write, edit and manage a team to publish the Union's monthly newspaper; draft press releases, pitch stories and coordinate press conferences; and as directed, speak on behalf of the Union and oversee public relations media strategy and implementation, including print, radio, television, website and e-mail. Candidate will have a combined 5+ years' experience as an editor and communications specialist. Preferred: college graduate with labor union editor/communications experience. Cover letter and résumé: William Adams, ILWU Secretary-Treasurer, 1188 Franklin Street, 4th Floor, San Francisco, CA 94109, with accompany cc to William.Adams@ilwu.org or Fax (415) 775-1302.

PUBLICITY DIRECTOR. *The Nation* magazine is seeking an organized media junkie with progressive politics, boundless energy and a keen entrepreneurial instinct to oversee and implement the publicity and syndication responsibilities for America's oldest weekly magazine. The ideal candidate will be detail-oriented, comfortable with tight deadline pressure, possess strong verbal and writing skills, be familiar with the media landscape and the blogosphere, and have a minimum of three to five years of experience working in publicity or communications. Located in our New York City office, the position offers excellent benefits and a congenial work atmosphere. *The Nation* is an equal opportunity employer. E-mail résumé, cover letter and salary requirements to: pubjob@thenation.com. No calls, please.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

***NATION* STUDENT OUTREACH:** Attention student activists! If you're involved in organizing a progressive event, lecture or film festival on your campus or in your community and would like to distribute copies of *The Nation*, please let us know by calling (212) 209-5416.

***THE NATION* SEEKS** a part-time Administrative Assistant for advertising department. Must have excellent telephone and e-mail communication skills and strong attention to detail. Prepare weekly invoice and issue mailings; produce advertising reports and targeted promotional mailings; provide general office support (filing, copying, etc). Research skills and knowledge of Excel, Filemaker and Word very helpful. Located in our downtown New York City office, the position offers excellent benefits and a congenial work atmosphere. *The Nation* is an equal opportunity employer. People of color and other minorities strongly encouraged to apply. E-mail résumé, cover letter and salary requirements to adjob@thenation.com.

PSYCHOTHERAPY

SAN FRANCISCO PSYCHOTHERAPIST: treats depression, anxiety, relationship issues, crises and trauma. Consultation available. CC accepted. Paula Holt, LCSW, www.paulabranchholt.com. (415) 289-6990.

EXPERIENCED PSYCHOANALYST also working with couples and families. Approach is psychodynamic but also eclectic. San Francisco and Marin. CA-PSY11249. Kristine Pfleiderer, DMH. (415) 563-8207.

DOWNTOWN NEW YORK THERAPIST. Life with its discontents. Artists, activists, academics and all. Robert McVey, C.S.W. (212) 330-7114.

CHICAGO PSYCHOTHERAPIST. Treat depression, anxiety, relationship problems, etc. Specialize in concerns of artists. Sliding scale, insurance. Deborah Hellerstein, LCSW. (312) 409-9516.

REAL ESTATE

SANTA FE. Progressive Realtor® seeks same in clients. Peter Kahn, Santa Fe Properties. (800) 374-2931 toll free. (505) 690-4840 mobile or peter.kahn@santafeproperties.com.

COCOA BEACH, FLORIDA. Realtor offers free lists of Spacecoast Properties. Exit Island and Beach Realty. (321) 403-3333. Pat@Patsuit.com or www.PatSuit.com.

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates and Frequency Discounts: STANDARD $4.10/word, 15-word minimum = $61.50 for 1–3 insertions; PO Box, telephone numbers, web address count as two words.

Buy 1–3 runs, pay $4.10 per word
Buy 4 runs, pay $3.85 per word
Buy 5–10 runs, pay $3.70 per word
Buy 11–12 runs, pay $3.15 per word
Buy 25-46 runs, pay $2.75 per word
Buy 47 runs, pay $2.60 per word

Logos: We will print your logo and center the headline of your advertisement for an additional fee of $50/insertion B/W; $60 for color. Maximum size for a logo is 2 1/4″ wide by 1/2″ deep. EPS logo should accompany ad copy and payment.

Deadline: Tuesday, 3 PM, 10 days prior to Monday issue date.

Payment in US currency or major credit card must accompany order.

Enclosed is my check for $ _____ for _____ insertions at $ _____ / word rate.

"Personals" advertisers: Be sure to include $45 for Nation Box number/forwarding service. For all ads please include your name, address and contact phone number with your ad or The Nation assumes no responsibility for typographical errors. You may fax your classifieds to us at (212) 982-9000 or e-mail leigh@thenation.com for faster service.

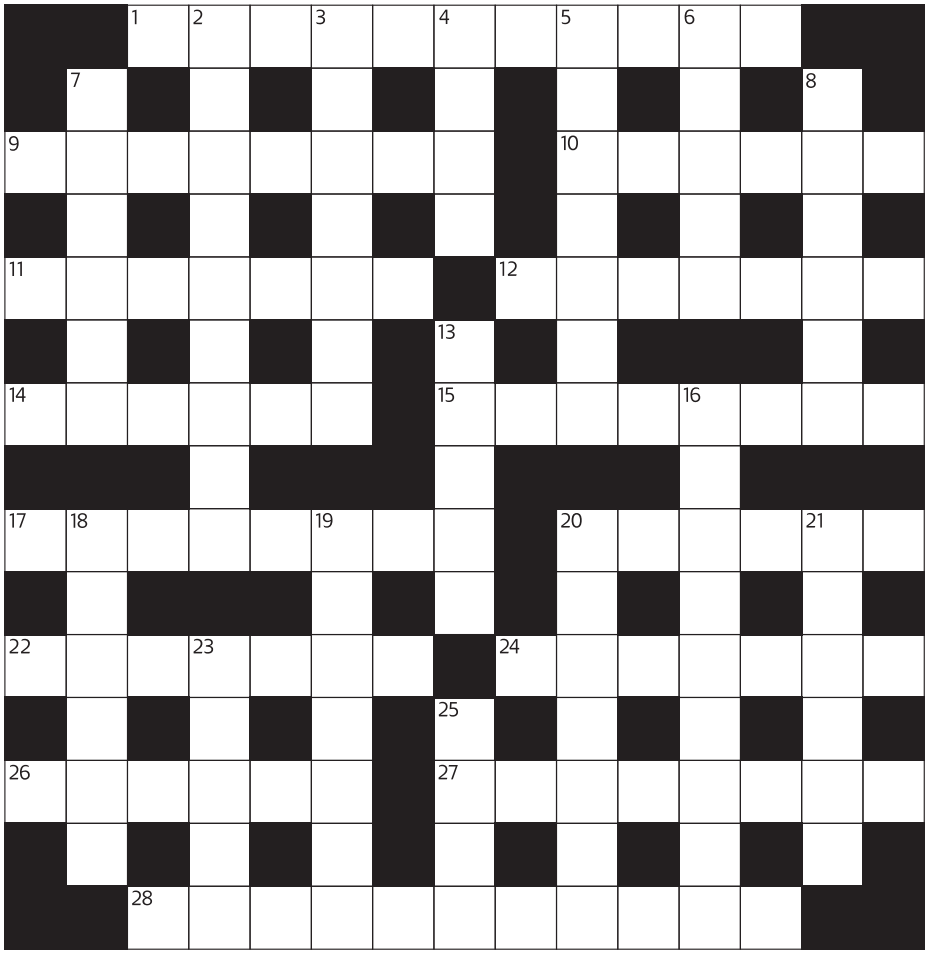
E-mail preferred. Attach ad, typewritten if possible.

The Nation, Classified Department, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUZZLE NO. 3075

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The general ideas of imitations on the stage. (I am going to iron those tiny particles!) (11)

9 Some of the night light shows on Ms. McSwine or Governor Brown. (8)

10 With which you might take a picture around one that's an ursine type. (6)

11 What might be a snaky type gets one right in for treatment, if it hurts just a little. (7)

12 A future time, unspecified, to have a few words about the wrong mode. (7)

14 Jumped up when the starting price sounded the bell. (6)

15 One who does a bit of digging with the old-fashioned plate. (8)

17 Hallelujah! It might be heard in one! (O rodent, O river!) (8)

20 Orion, for example, and run the business with it. (6)

22 A comer, according to Paul, using the torn-up road, etc. (7)

24 A sign that there's a stinger up above. (7)

26 A former arrangment that should change things for us. (6)

27 How roofs of churches might end up gives us reason to act. (8)

28 Knowing if it's going to rain or not makes you and me by the side of the lady rather smart. (11)

DOWN

2 The poor beggar seems to announce an inability to darn your socks. (9)

3 Was Alice told it was an accompaniment to writhing, or was it just part of the dance? (7)

4, 25 and **13** Where Marilyn appeared to end up nine days old. (4,4,2,3)

5 An irritating description—or Mike's at fault! (7)

6 Give one the elbow, grand in a barely exposed way. (5)

7 It's a 50-50 chance that it will show a game beginning. (4-2)

8 Story about the morning dish below the border. (6)

13 See 4

16 Study what was happy to the Western songster, with signs left up in the sky. (9)

18 What old sneakers did—also old-fashioned when owing something. (6)

19 Let someone in again—or own up more than once. ("Dear Tim: It's wrong!") (7)

20 The trite writer looked at something in the toolbox, perhaps. (7)

21 Look up around the top of your eye—you'll find this omits something. (6)

23 Make an exact copy, which is about a 150-to-1 shot. (5)

25 See 4

AVAILABLE NOW
from **Nation Books!**

A new collection of Frank W. Lewis classics!!

PUZZLED? No more cross words. If you don't see why "Lures" are "Ground Rules" send for those of Mr. Lewis to: Puzzled, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003, or access our website at www.thenation.com/about/crossword.mhtml.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 3074

C	A	B	I	N	E	T	M	A	K	E	R	S		
L		A		A		E		R		N		A		W
A	P	R	O	N		A	R	M	A	D	I	L	L	O
U		T		K		M		A		E		S		R
S	H	E	K	E	L	S		M	I	D	L	A	N	D
T		N		E				E		U				P
R	O	D	I	N		S	A	N	D	P	A	P	E	R
O		E				E		T				I		O
P	A	R	I	S	I	A	N	S		M	U	S	I	C
H				T		L				A		T		E
O	R	G	E	A	T	S		C	A	E	S	A	R	S
B		H		M		K		A		N		C		S
I	D	O	L	I	Z	I	N	G		A	C	H	O	O
A		S		N		N		E		D		I		R
		T	R	A	N	S	G	R	E	S	S	O	R	S

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It doesn't play games, take pictures, or give you the weather.

Introducing the Jitterbug. Simply designed to be the best telephone a cell phone can be. Nothing more. And nothing less. With service as low as $10 a month.* The world is complicated enough. Now there's a cell phone that makes life simple.

Questions about Jitterbug? Try our pre-recorded Jitterbug Toll-Free Hotline **1-800-230-9045.**

- The sound is loud and clear
- A soft ear cushion makes it easy to hear
- The screen is bright and easy to see
- The phone fits in the palm of your hand
  Open size approx. 2 1/4" x 7 1/2"
- Unique 'Yes/No' buttons access every feature, even voicemail
- The buttons are bigger and backlit
- Dial "0" for a 24-hour Jitterbug operator

Available in a simple 12-button Dial Phone and an even simpler 3-button OneTouch Phone for easy access to the operator, the number of your choice, and 911.

Call Now Toll-Free
1-866-540-0299
Mention promotional code 32952
Item# BU-4722

jitterbug™
brought to you by

SAMSUNG

firstSTREET for Boomers and Beyond™
1998 Ruffin Mill Road
Colonial Heights, VA 23834

IMPORTANT CONSUMER INFORMATION: Subject to Customer Agreement, select calling plans, and credit approval. Early termination fee, other charges, and restrictions apply. Screen images simulated. Offer, coverage, and service not available everywhere. While supplies last. Shipping charges may apply. *Not including government taxes, assessment surcharges, and activation fee. Limited-time offer from GreatCall. ©2007 GreatCall, Inc. Jitterbug and GreatCall are trademarks of GreatCall, Inc. Samsung is a registered trademark of Samsung Electronics America, Inc. and its related entities.

47254

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The **American Humanist Association** applauds the courageous decision by **Representative Pete Stark** to come out as a **nontheistic American** and join the company of so many other significant citizens who have done the same thing. Contrary to what some in the religious right would have you believe, **humanistic Americans** are important contributors to society.

CONGRATULATIONS, Congressman PETE STARK

You're in good company.

Daniel C. Dennett

Barbara Ehrenreich

Steven Pinker

Julia Sweeney

Kurt Vonnegut

Edward O. Wilson

Join the American Humanist Association.

Become a member for only $35!
Call, go online, or fill out this form.

American Humanist Association
1777 T Street, NW,
Washington, DC 20009
(800) 837-3792
www.americanhumanist.org

☐ Check enclosed ☐ Visa ☐ Mastercard ☐ Discover ☐ AmEx

Name

Account Number Exp Date

Mailing Address: Number, City, State, Zip

Phone Email

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED